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BHAVANISAGAR
GRAMA SEVAK TRAINING CENTRE.

A Critical Analysis of India's Community Development Programme

28

by

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PREFACE

Within a span of four short years Community Development in India has grown from a limited experiment to a nation-wide programme. Extension in India has acquired a new meaning. The programme has brought within its compass all phases of the life of our rural people—economic, political, social and spirtual. "Destination Man" has been claimed to be the objective. It is but natural that the programme will be up against problems which will have few precedents elsewhere. Those who are responsible for the implementation of the programme or are involved in it directly or indirectly, are apt to find it difficult to make a dispassionate appraisal of what is really happening under the impact of the programme; what the successes and failings are and what should be in the line of approach for immediate or long-term correctives. It is in circumstances such as these that outside observers are most welcome, inasmuch as they can bring an objectivity and outlook, all their own.

Dr. Carl Taylor is an eminent Sociologist from the United States with a life-time of experience in Community Development Programme in all parts of the world. He has worked in India as a Consultant to the Ford Foundation, at our invitation, for a full year. In the pages that follow Dr. Taylor has offered his observations on the Community Development Programme as it stands today in India. These observations, coming as they do from one who is wedded to this programme as a life's mission, has special significance for our workers as much as for others in India and abroad who are interested in the success of this programme. Dr. Taylor's penetrating observations should prove of definite help to our workers and all others alike. The report is being presented with the hope that it will be studied with the care and devotion with which it has been written by the author.

CPA is deeply grateful to Dr. Carl Taylor for the pains he has taken to appraise the Indian programme at the present stage of its development, and for the lucid and thought-provoking observations he has made for study and use by those who are engaged or interested in this programme.

(Sd.) S. K. DEY.
26-7-56.

I

THE GENIUS OF INDIA'S COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

It may appear audacious for one to assume to describe and explain the genius of India's Community Development Programme to those who planned and those who are administering the programme. But for two reasons I deem this necessary as an introduction to a critical appraisal of the programme. First, I need to have clearly in mind, as criteria by which to appraise the programme, the stated objectives of the programme and the methods designed for carrying it out. Second, I want to give exposition to the fact that although India has borrowed much from extension programmes in other countries, she has wrought out both methods and administration of a programme which are uniquely usable in other so-called "under-developed countries".

India has so definitely decided on change that the major issue of her development programme is the accomplishment of maximum desired change without sacrificing too much of a traditional culture which she cherishes. Among her many programmes of change some do not require the participation of the masses of people in any way other than doing work for acceptable wages. Her great rivers can be controlled and harnessed, her great ports built, and railroad and trunk highways constructed without any great mental and emotional involvement of the thousands of persons who will furnish the necessary physical manpower. Such is not the case with the Extension and Community Development Programmes, for they require not only the sanction but the free participation of millions of persons and hundreds of thousands of village groups. The changes conceived and promoted for their improvement must be not only acceptable to the people but accepted and put into practice by them.

If the revolutionary changes desired, and probably needed, are to be accomplished by evolutionary methods, nothing is more imperative than a thorough understanding of how this can be done in one village after another, in one home and on one farm after another. The habits of millions of persons must be changed or modified, and gradually their attitudes, or outlook, changed or modified.

Many countries have chosen and attained progress. Some have chosen progress but have not accomplished it. Some have made great progress without consciously choosing to do so. The United States of America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and all the Scandinavian countries have made constant progress but probably fortuitously rather than by conscious choice. Germany one hundred years ago, and Japan fifty years ago, may be said to have chosen progress indirectly when they launched upon the development of industrial revolutions. Argentina ten years ago chose progress and formulated a Five-Year Plan that spelled out progress in every direction. I was there at the

time. I have been there since and I doubt that Argentina has experienced progress. During the last few years I have been in a number of so-called under-developed countries which desire and are trying to plan for progress. It is my prediction that the hopes of some of them will not materialise because of the means they are attempting to employ. It is my conviction that India has not only chosen good ends by which to stimulate and measure progress, but is using valid means by which to gain these ends. She has chosen the goal of raising the level of living of all the hundreds of millions of her citizens and she has chosen the means of involving all of these citizens, in all her 558,000 villages, in aided self-help improvement undertakings.

Raising the level of living of all the people is a difficult and complex task. But the task can be resolved into practical and simple terms. The simplest terms conceivable result from defining the level of living in terms of the basic needs and desires of the people. They are needs for food, clothing, shelter and health, and the desire or need for education, recreation, community life and religion. When looked at in these terms it becomes clear that local group action has a far greater contribution to make to the task of raising the levels of living of all the people than action on any other organized level of society. Local people can produce most of their food and clothing, can improve their own sanitation, build their own houses, organize their own recreation, conduct their own religious affairs, and even help build their own schools and health centres. For schools, health centres, and the employment of education and health personnel, they need major outside financial assistance. In all other things they need chiefly technical assistance and guidance. It is impossible to understand how 370 millon people can help to make the choices and decisions of their country if it is assumed that they do it *en masse*. They can do it only by deciding, and being permitted to decide, in one village after another, to improve their own levels of living.

Local problems are the chief concern of village people and the solution of these problems rank second to no other problems in India's plans for progress. Inspired and dedicated local groups can contribute more to the solutions of these problems than can any other individuals or groups in the nation. India has, therefore, determined that organized villagers shall not only choose the priorities in which their problems shall be tackled, but that they shall have major responsibility for the solution of these problems. Because of this fact village people are helping to choose the direction and the goals of their nation's progress. Each village community decides what it needs and wants and then mobilizes its manpower, ingenuity and enthusiasm to meet these needs. It develops its own people and its own village and thus lays the chief foundation stone in India's programme of progress.

Community Development is the method by which people who live in local villages or communities are involved in helping to improve their own economic and social conditions and thereby become effective working groups in programmes of national development. The adoption of this method is based upon a knowledge that villagers who in the past have seemed to be lethargic and not interested in change, will

become dynamic if they are permitted to take decisions concerning, exercise responsibility for, and are helped to carry out projects and programmes for improvements in their own villages.

India's programme is unique in that it is both a Community Development and an Extension Programme. It is a Community Development Programme in that its major objective is to develop more than five hundred thousand village communities by methods which will stimulate, encourage, and aid villagers themselves to do much of the work necessary to accomplishing this objective. It is an Extension Programme in that it develops channels between all higher centers of information and villages, and develops trained personnel to carry agricultural, health, education, and all other types of scientific and technical knowledge to more than two hundred and seventy-five million villagers living in hundreds of thousands of villages.

The genius of any programme is sharply conditioned by the concepts and purposes with which the programme starts. Prime Minister Nehru in an address to the first State Development Commissioners' Conference, May 1952, cogently expressed these concepts and purposes. He said : "The community projects appear to me to be something of vital importance, not only in the national achievement that they would bring about but much more so because they seek to build up the community and the individual, and to make the latter a builder of his own village centre and India in a larger sense". The First Five-Year Plan had spelled out these objectives and methods in fairly great detail in such statements as : "Within the broad framework of national priorities, the actual programme in localities should be determined by local needs". "Unless people feel that a programme is theirs and value it as a practical contribution to their own welfare no substantial results will be gained." "People's participation must be not only in project execution but project planning." "If the people are to be trained to be builders of the future, the works have to be entrusted, even at a certain risk, to the people themselves through their representative agencies, the Government organization furnishing the technical assistance and essential finance."

The genius of the programme is not in its magnitude of population and geographic coverage or in the great amount of personnel it must employ. It is in the way in which it has already reached more than one hundred thousand villages without a large body of highly trained technicians, and without adequate funds to employ them had they been available. It is not a perfect programme but it is a programme by which changes of many kinds have been initiated in India and can be initiated in other countries which are not strong financially, not rich in highly trained personnel, and in which the vast majority of peasants, who must be reached and helped, can neither read nor write and therefore cannot be reached by mass means of Communication. The designed patterns of the programme are that villagers with secondary or middle school education are carefully selected, and trained to work in villages as multiple-purpose, first-aid, technical assistance to villagers and village groups. These Village Level Workers are supported by a much smaller number of college trained technicians who

can help the village workers and villagers with more advanced technical know-how than village high school graduates can be expected to have. All technical services of Government channel their aid to villagers through these echelons of personnel.

Community Development is only part of the total national development methods and programme. Its succesful operation depends upon and is interwoven with the work and programme of all other development agencies which reach down to villages. It is primarily a method by which villagers are helped to organize their own efforts to accomplish improvements, and through their organization receive adequate and ready assistance from any and all development departments.

India is catalogued at this moment in history as an "under-developed" country, chiefly because she lags behind the most advanced countries in technological development. She can and will, like all other countries have done, borrow technologies from the ends of the earth and train scientists at home and abroad. But she believes, and knows, that she must herself develop her own great mass of people. For the task of accomplishing this, she launched and is evolving a Community Development Programme. It is a programme for inducing change in such a way that each step in change will be inculcated in the habits and attitudes of her millions of peasants. It is also a programme for, or a method of, helping village groups to effectively organize for successful self-help improvement undertakings.

The contributions India is making to democratic planning may very well be one of the chief contributions to the world out of her Development Programme. The First Five-Year Plan was a remarkable statement of the components of India's economic, social and political life and structure, as of 1951-52. It was an assessment of the country's problems and the extent to which her natural, human and technical resources, if developed, could solve these problems. It attempted to foresee the sequence of priorities to which efforts and fund should be dedicated in order that the development of those resources which would most definitely condition other components of development should be tackled first. In describing types of programmes that needed to be launched, the Plan drew heavily on the experiences and records of countries which had, during the last few decades, accomplished rapid development. In describing methods to be employed it drew more heavily on experiences which had been gained in various types of development here and there in India over the preceding thirty years.

The Community Development Programme in India is the most gigantically planned and governmentally administered programme of its kind in the history of the world. It has planned and tried some things which have never been tried before, probably the most significant being that of channelling technical and material assistance from all departments and agencies of Government down to villagers through a co-ordinated and integrated scheme of Extension administration. It

has tried some things which I believe it could have known would not work well, had it known more about what have been the experiences gained elsewhere in the world, and had it known of the fairly well validated large body of technical knowledge concerning group formation and community mobilization. It has had successes which if carefully analyzed and objectively and clearly described will not only guide its programme in the future but will be a great contribution to other countries, especially to developing countries which want, or need, to use Community Development Extension methods and programmes of development.

Community Development as a method, and India's Community Development Programme, are based on a knowledge that the mobilized manpower, ingenuity, and enthusiasm of the hundreds of millions of people who live in hundreds of thousands of separate local villages, is imperative to national economic, social, and political development. It is based on the stated conviction that they can be effectively mobilised only if permitted to share in the responsibility for their own development. It is based on the knowledge that villagers, even though illiterate, have self-recognized needs and desires to satisfy these needs. It should be based on a knowledge that if villagers seem to be lethargic and their old village organizations inert, it is because they have for a long time not been permitted to participate, much less to lead, in programmes for the improvement of their own lot in life. It must be based on a faith that given a chance they will help to reverse the trends which developed the physical, economic and social conditions under which they now live. There is every reason for having such a faith because wherever in the world village groups have been encouraged to believe that organized self-help assures them not only assistance from but recognition by their Government, they have justified the faith imposed in them.

India has this knowledge and this faith, but she has not yet completely demonstrated that all of those who plan and are working in and directing her Community Development Programme possess or know that they need to possess a sure knowledge of how to catalyze and form responsive and responsible local groups and mobilize and organize whole villages. India has the largest, most fast-moving and rapidly expanding Community Development in the world. But there are other similar programmes which have evolved and are using more effective methods of developing, training, and using local leaders, are more effectively developing local community responsibility, and thus are encouraging and developing greater local initiative and successfully developing both people and communities.

The objectives of the Indian Community Development Programme are so high, and the dedication of the nation to these objectives so firm and so animated, that India cannot afford any degree of failure to understand and use, in this great people's programme, everything that is known or can be learned about the most effective methods of local group formation, the development of local leaders, and the mobilization and organization of responsive and responsible village communities.

II

ADMINISTERING A PEOPLE'S PROGRAMME

A gigantic people's programme must be organized and directed. But it cannot, as with some other types of programmes, be completely directed from the top by a set of rules and procedures. No static or rigid scheme of administration can successfully direct a rapidly accelerating programme of change that involves hundreds of millions of people scattered over a large geographic area and living in hundreds of thousands of relatively isolated village groups. No proliferation of sub-units of hierarchial administration will suffice for such a programme. Only a highly decentralized administration, operating through many relatively autonomous local units, each permitted to make many day-by-day decisions, can successfully operate a gigantic people's programme and a programme of creative change.

Administration is said to consist of the mobilization, organization, and management of materials, men and money. In a people's programme the greater part of administration's task is that of mobilizing, organizing, and managing men. It is not so much the exercising of authority, or even the delegation of authority, as it is the development of initiative and responsibility on the part of leaders of local groups. Because this is the main purpose of the Community Development Programme, it is the main task of those administering the programme.

It is probably fairly easy for those attempting to direct a Community Development Programme to understand the social dynamics of voluntarily organized local community groups. But it is also easy for them unconsciously to interfere with the processes which are developing these dynamics. They can safeguard against such interference only by letting the people themselves choose the ends for the gaining of which they will willingly join hands. In attempting to involve a great number of persons in gaining desired common ends, there is no acceptable alternative to letting them choose the ends and then aiding them to organize their self-help efforts successfully to do the things they want to do. Most members of village communities will willingly co-operate in carrying out a project which they helped to decide to undertake. Most of them, however, probably consciously or unconsciously, resent having someone else prescribe the extent of their personal co-operation and determine the time when and the schedule by which they shall participate. A community is not like an army platoon that marches in locked step or tight formation, much less at the command of a sergeant or other titled leader.

Until about one hundred and fifty years ago men by the millions had not been consciously mobilized, organised, and managed for any other purpose than war. Large industry and business, later organized than great armies, have discovered that the methods employed in handling armies is not alone adequate to the handling of masses in civilian pursuits. Elton Mayo, one of the great industrial efficiency experts of the world, has described as "social skills"

the additional elements which must be employed in organizing and managing masses of men in civilian undertakings. The genius of social skills is that they develop teamwork and morale among great numbers of people who are together engaged in great common undertakings. Those engaged in administration may, and probably must on an organization chart appear as a pyramidial hierarchy. But in operation an administration is not a hierarchy but a team.

A team of any kind, whether an athletic team, a symphony orchestra, or an administrative team, must be composed of persons each with special capabilities. It is a strong and effectively operating team or organization when each member is permitted and encouraged to exercise his maximum talents at the appropriate place and at the right time. It is weak to the extent that such talents are not fully used or if competent persons on the team are thwarted by undue attempts to direct their every action and judgment.

Certain decisions must be made at the top and centre of all organizations in order that what is being learned at any and all parts of the operating programme may be appraised and communicated with surety and despatch to all other parts of the organization. Judgments used to sift and decide what successful experiences are being had and what problems are arising at various levels of programme operation are valid only when made by a team of persons in the top administrative office some of whom are constantly observing field operations, or have themselves recently been wrestling with field problems.

Such judgments cannot, or at least should not, be made on the basis of power which inheres in mere position or salary rank in a rigid hierarchy of power. Highly intelligent and even high-ranking persons are needed in top positions to make those decisions which must be made at the top and centre of a widespread and diverse programme. But a people's programme and a programme of change requires top administrators with skills and aptitudes superior to those required for less dynamic programmes. Everything that has been learned about human relations in administration needs to be a part of their administrative know-how. This may be to say that not every person with experience in administering other types of programmes may be qualified to administer a people's programme and a programme of change.

The most fundamental principle of any efficient administration is, of course, that it keeps all administrative action beamed to and all its proceedings geared to the facilitation of the objectives of the programme which it administers. A principle which buttresses this one is that lines of communication within the organization must flow from bottom to top as well as from top to bottom of programme operation. This is as important as it is difficult in a programme of change which is being carried out in hundreds of thousands of local areas. It is imperative, however, not only because higher echelons of administration exist for no other purpose than serving local groups, but because each local variation from prescribed norms has the possibility of being a pilot demonstration worth communicating to all other areas.

The operation of a system of administrating human relations between all echelons of administration must not only be constant but must be cordial and fluid. To make them such is one of the social skills of effective programme operation. The practice of these skills does not in the least alter the necessity of allocating authority and definitely fixing responsibility. But fixing responsibility need not, and should not, compromise any member of the administrative team either as a technician or a person. The practice of this principle is not only good personnel administration but is based upon the knowledge that all important administration decisions in a decentralized organization need to be joint products based upon experiences of persons in all echelons of administration.

In a Community Development, or any other programme, which depends upon the volunteer and creative effort of millions of persons and hundreds of thousands of widely dispersed groups, most day-by-day, and even month-by-month, decisions must be made locally. Because of this, open and ready channels of administrative communication travelling upward are far more important than those travelling downward. There is far greater need that those functioning in higher echelons of administration know what is needed to implement decisions made by imperative necessity in local areas than there is that those functioning in local areas know what some top level administrator and his office staff have reasoned out. Only if attention is kept sharply upon the fact that every item and action in the Community Deveolpment Programme must be carried out at the village level; that every well dug, every road, school, clinic or Panchayat Ghar built, and every agricultural practice adopted, must be done by individual villagers or village groups, will administrators have a clear concept of the roles that must be played by those far down the administrative ladder.

The many tedious tasks of administration and the need for sure and expenditious decisions very often lead top administrators to forget that the chief justification of their part in the programme is the implementation of people's activities. Effectively organized administration, as imperative as it is, tends to strait-jacket people's otherwise dynamic, creative, initiative and action. Legal procedure, allocation of funds, and administrative directives tend to knock the edges off local creative impulses and personal zest for action. Administration in and of itself cannot catalyse the giant dynamic that resides in the hopes and aspirations of three hundred and seventy million people. All it can do is to help implement this developing dynamic.

III

A COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT MOVEMENT—ITS ASSETS AND LIABILITIES

While India is not the only, and was not the first, country to launch and operate a Community Development Programme, it is the only country in which there is something approaching a Community Development Movement. Movements arise out of latent bodies of discontent which are so deep and widspread that any prospect of alleviation or remedy immediately mobilizes the concern of masses of people. The long-standing poverty and low levels of living of millions of Indian villagers undoubtedly fostered a body of latent discontent. When a Community Development programme began definitely to prove that it was seriously tackling the roots of this discontent, the response and expectations of the people began to develop many of the characteristics of a movement.

In static societies discontent is ignored, and in autocratic societies discontent finds no mode of expression except in revolt or revolution. Movements therefore arise only in societies that permit and encourage change, and they develop only in democratic societies. That great movements have arisen and succeeded in history much less often than have revolutions should be a matter of great concern to a nation that has chosen progress, has definitely decided on change, and is determined that change shall not be accomplished by revolution.

Most so-called "under-developed" countries seem to have become aware of the plight of their peasants. They have always known that peasants constituted the most important sector of their economies, and the most stable element in their social order. They have known their village people live in poverty. Some of them have launched village improvement programmes in fear that latent peasants discontent might flare into violence. Some of the programmes are launched as village uplift programmes, motivated by human sympathy but often not guided by too much social intelligence. Why the Community Development programme in India has developed many of the characteristics of a movement is a question that deserves analysis for two reasons. First, it is important for those who are attempting to guide the movement to understand the gigantic power they are trying to direct, and second, it is necessary that they know all they can about the characteristics of a movement.

I have tried to understand the roots and the causes for the growth of an incipient Community Development Movement in India. Others will know these roots better than I, and will be more capable of documenting the steps in the emergence of a movement with greater accuracy and in greater detail. May be, however, I can make a contribution to an understanding of Movements, their potentialities and weaknesses. I am fairly sure that Community Development was called a movement in India before it gave any evidence of being such. I am equally sure that there is danger of it becoming a movement.

From my limited knowledge of the detailed historical facts, it appears to me that the basic roots of the movement lie in the value which Indian religion and tradition attach to the worth of the individual as a person, and in the belief of millions of village people that each local village is a social entity to be cherished. Apparently both of these values survived the dire circumstances under which the Indian people were compelled to live for many generations. I am sure that Gandhi catalysed these two values into the first step toward a village development movement. Not only his constructive work but a few other small and generally isolated programmes of community improvement were launched in India between 1930 and 1947. Each one of them undoubtedly made a contribution to the growing consciousness that there were great undeveloped potentialities in the Indian peasantry. With the gaining of Independence, in the long struggle for which millions of Indians had been ideologically and emotionally mobilized, it was natural, or probably inevitable, that the threads of what had in the past been either nebulous or episodic attempts at village improvement should have tended to be woven into a Community Development Movement.

Inadequate as the above description and analysis may be, it is bound to be more valid than the belief that the impulses of a movement sprang from the minds of a few imaginative intellectuals and was launched by an engineering type of blueprint. Movements originate in and grow out of the people. They arise from the ground and spread upward and then outward. They cannot effectively spread outward unless they spread upward and make conjuction with the minds and sympathies of leaders who in the past may have been "voices crying in the wilderness" but who have enough wisdom to interpret the valid discontent of the masses, sponsor their causes, and insist that their motives be implemented not merely palliated, much less suppressed and thwarted.

Some countries have only a few such leaders. They are so few that they are smothered and often silenced by a much greater number whose vested interests dominate all national affairs, including the Government. These few intelligent and dedicated leaders have no effective way to make conjunction with the masses, and the masses have no way of learning of these leaders' ideas or even of their existence. This was not the case in India, when it finally became an independent nation.

The configuration of the Community Development Movement can be learned from Indian villagers themselves, masses of whom do not yet visualize the magnitude of the movement of which they are the sinews. In village after village I have asked : "How old is your village?" The answers have been: "200 years, 400 years, 600 years, 1,500 years, etc." I have then asked: "If you and your ancestors have lived here for 600 years why didn't you do all these things (the various improvements they have recently made) until just the last few years ?" Their answers have been: "We are now citizens", or "Government was never interested in us and our needs, now it is," or "We were slaves, now we are free," or "We were dead, now we live". One

who hears such testimony is forced to conclude that the consciousness of Indian citizenship is part of the impulse of a Community Development Movement. And I suppose, it is valid to assume that the highly mobilized sentiment for Independence was in no small way a springboard for self-improvement, village improvement, and national progress. I doubt that this sentiment needs to be further prodded. The main task is to channel and implement it.

Because movements are types of collective behaviour they not only mobilize millions of participants, but generate their own momentum, and quite generally tend to generate more heat than light. Once going they do not need to be prodded, but they do need to be guided and the ground under them carefully and continuously consolidated. Many, if not most, movements that have failed did so chiefly because rising expectations of the masses outran day-by-day and month-by-month accomplishments. Notwithstanding these facts leaders of movements practically always seem to believe not only that they must prod and stimulate a movement but continually advertise its accomplishments. They try to feed the movement by an ever greater number of promises, some of which are almost certain not be capable of fulfilment. They tend to emphasize and advertise the spectacular. They claim credit for things that derive from other sources than the activities which they direct. They continuously use propaganda methods.

There is all the difference in the world between methods and results of propaganda and methods and results of community development. Good community development methods do not mobilize masses as such. They mobilize hundreds of thousands, and if need be millions, of participants in local groups which by their own steady efforts consolidate the ground under their own rising expectations.

Villagers by the hundreds of thousands are participating in the Indian Community Development Programme. They are no longer lethargic or apathetic. There is probably no doubt that apathy and scepticism about Government and Government services was present among villagers before the Community Development Programme started. It is probably true, as is often asserted, that psychological as well as physical, economic and cultural stagnation existed in most Indian villages when Independence was gained. But I am convinced that these barriers to change have been breached on such a wide front that the chain reaction from improvement projects already successfully completed will carry the Community Development Programme across the whole of India so rapidly that technical administrative services will have difficulty in keeping pace with them.

The vast majority of villagers I have met and visited with, both in and outside development blocks, want to be more efficient producers, want better opportunities for their children, and want better living conditions in their homes and communities. There is nothing of which I am more deeply convinced by my observations than that there is more need at the moment, and the need will increase in the future, for administrators to effectively implement the aroused impulses of the people than there is need for urging villagers to raise their sights or even

to participate in a movement. They are already participating when given opportunity to do so. Greater and greater numbers will participate in the future. Guiding and directing such a developing people's programme will require maximum talent in administration.

One of the techniques of a movement is the coining of slogans which, if repeated often enough, create the impression that all that is needed is to do one or few things and conditions will be remedied. This creates embalances among the many things that must be done to improve conditions. The Indian Community Development Programme has made citizens in all geographic areas and on all levels of life aware that great reforms in rural life are afoot and moving far and fast. But it has tended to stimulate furious activity to accomplish visible and spectacular physical results, sometimes to the detriment of patient but sure mobilization of the human resources and the improvement of the productive factors of one after the other of its 558,000 villages. The greatest asset of Community Development is not that it has grown into a movement but that it is a method by which all the technical services of Government can be channelled down to meet and assist the gigantic developing potential power of hundreds of thousands of effectively organized village groups.

IV

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT—EXTENSION METHODS

The unique genius of India's Community Development—Extension programme is based on the knowledge that Extension work can best be done by use of group methods; that adoption of improvement practices by individuals will be more rapid if organized groups assume responsibility for the spread of these practices. Extension consists of any and all methods by which scientific and technical knowledge is carried to, and learned by, individuals and families, and is inculcated into their daily practices. Whether a practice is some improvement in agricultural or cottage industry production, better health habits, better nutrition, or adult education, it is either individuals or families who must learn the improvement methods. Unless group methods help to increase the number and the speed of individuals adopting improvement practices they make no contribution to an Extension programme. Only a clear recognition of this fact will properly emphasize the everlasting need for each one of the millions of individuals and families in India to adopt specific improvement practices and inculcate them into their daily lives and work. Such understanding will also help to make clear what types of group methods will facilitate these individual adoptions, and what types of organizations are quite worthwhile for purposes have little or nothing to do with adoption. of practices by individuals and families.

There are a number of countries which have efficient Extension programmes but make very little use of group methods. There are countries which have Community Development programmes which only incidentally make use of Government Extension agencies and services. There are countries which have both Community Development and Extension programmes, working side by side, but neither fully aware of what the other is doing and each inclined to discount the effectiveness of the other. My interpretation, and my observations, of India's programme is that it is an integration of Extension and Community Development methods and programmes. But there are times and places where group organization is promoted solely for the sake of organization. When this is done there is a tendency to over-emphasize group or mass participation irrespective of whether or not it is dedicated to and sharply focussed upon high priority objectives. Oraganization is not for the sake of organization. But just as some other specialist completely over-emphasizes the adoption of practices by individuals, so some Community Development specialists completely over-emphasize organization. In such cases people are often mobilized for projects which demonstrate great group participation and effort whether or not the accomplishment of such group effort ranks high amongst needed improvements. Worse yet, there are countless illustrations of groups stimulated to organize for purposes which have little improvement significance, with the result that such groups soon disintegrate. A dozen agricultural demonstrations in a community,

each an individual enterprise of one cultivator, but each used to mobilize one hundred cultivators for carefully instructed observations and on the spot discussions among these one hundred, should count as one hundred participants. By using such group methods of learning, even though they may be thought of purely as Extension methods, helps to prepare one hundred cultivators for future progress. In terms of the learning process, and in terms of motivation for the future, the participation of these one hundred is more significant than the participation of one thousand persons in road building by *shramdan*.

I will cite only one outstanding example among many which have demonstrated the great contribution group methods make to Extension work. The reason for citing this particular case is because it so completely parallels what India must do if she expects to accomplish the outstanding increase in agricultural production, which she desires and needs, in the immediate future.

Experts in the field of conservation in the United States began more than seventy-five years ago to express the need for soil conservation practices. They were, however, "voices crying in the wilderness" for almost fifty years. About twenty-five or thirty years ago the need for such conservation had become apparent to enough farmers and public leaders that a soil conservation programme was launched. The methods for promoting the programme were typical Extension methods. As many individual farmers as possible were induced to adopt various soil conservation methods. High-powered propaganda of all kinds was employed to promote the use of these methods. During the Depression of the 1930's, civilian conservation camps by the hundreds were established and operated. Unemployment was great and thousands of unemployed youth, both rural and urban, were employed in these camps at subsistence wages. At that moment a soil conservation programme was largely a public works programme. But the methods of inducing individuals to adopt soil conservation practices was continued. Progress by use of this method alone was still slow. Soil deterioration and erosion was probably actually gaining ground.

The next step in the conservation battle was an extensive programme of subsidies paid to farmers to practice conservation methods. This undoubtedly hastened the adoption of improved practices, but there is little doubt that many farmers practised the methods, partly at least, in order to collect their subsidy payments.

It was less than ten years ago that some of the leaders of the soil conservation programme finally became convinced that group methods might help. It is important to record that they asked for the assistance of persons who were specialists in group formation and community mobilization. These specialists taught them how to identify and delineate natural "neighbour groups" (village communities are not prevalent in the United States) and discover the natural leaders of these groups. Today there are 75,000 such groups in the United States. Soil conservation on private farms is now all done under the initiative and responsibility of these groups. If for no other reason than because they cannot find time to serve individual farmers who are not

members of groups, soil conservation specialists now work only through these groups. These specialists are probably no better soil and engineering specialists than they were ten years ago, but they have added to their knowledge of scientific practice a knowledge of the practices of group formation and group responsibility.

In order to make sharp application of what was learned by those in charge of the programme just described, and what has been learned from other similar programmes, it should be pointed out that it is the soil conservation specialists themselves who now insist on working only through groups. Each local group selects its own leader and carries on far more than 90% of its work without the expert being present. I shall return to a discussion of the development and utilization of local leaders after presenting an exposition of group formation and community mobilization methods. In the illustration attention was focussed on how group and community methods facilitate the adoption and spread of practices, each one of which must be adopted and used by an individual or a family. In such cases individuals are not organized into groups for the sake of organisation but for the purpose of accepting responsibility for carrying out a programme which specifically benefits all of them.

Community Development is, however, more than an additional Extension method. It consists of any and all methods by which local community groups organize to promote and carry out any and all types of projects which will improve the life and work of individuals, families, and the community as a whole. Some of these projects require a great deal of assistance from Extension specialists. Some of them require nothing more than the mobilization and effective organization of the manpower and ingenuity which resides in villagers themselves. The only Extension specialist required for furthering such mobilization and organization is a person with expert and practical knowledge of processes of group formation and community mobilization. Because there is such tremendous potential in the effectively mobilized manpower and ingenuity of the rural people of India, everything possible should be done to help them to become effective, confident, aspiring community groups. The methods for doing this constitute the technical know-how of Community Development. These methods will be applied effectively only if it is recognized that the objective and the accomplishment must be the specific development of each of India's 558,000 villages. A knowledge that each village is the unit of community action is as important as is the knowledge that the individual or the family is the unit of action for the adoption of specific technical practices.

The first step in Community Development is systematic discussion among members of the local community of their common felt needs. It is only when discussions are systematic, even though among a relatively few representative persons or families, that analysis of important commonly felt need is accomplished. Such discussion is readily induced when local villagers have cause to believe that any organized self-help efforts on their part will be encouraged and assisted by their government or some other dependable agency.

The second step in Community Development is systematic planning to carry out the first self-help undertaking that has been selected by the community. Systematic planning for aided self-help community undertakings leads to the selection of the type of first project which, because it is practically feasible, will mobilize the local manpower and ingenuity of those living in the community. It leads to the actual task of enlisting persons who will contribute their labor and talents, and often materials and money, to carry out the Project. It accomplishes realistic and responsible thinking about what should be and what can be done. It is a step that starts to mobilize the community to do something for itself.

The third step in Community Development is the almost complete mobilization and harnessing of the physical, economic, and social potentialities of local community-groups. Once a goodly sized organized local group starts working on a project which if completed will yield obvious and early benefits to the whole community, members of the community who have thus far been only mildly interested or even skeptical start contributing to its successful completion.

The fourth step in Community Development is the creation of groups or community aspirations and the determination to undertake additional community improvement projects. Until this step is taken the universal problem of how to get local villages and villagers to desire and initiate improvements is not solved. Many community organizations promoted by outsiders never take this step. But there are both good physical and sociological reasons why the majority of community-groups, which have come into existence and progressed by taking the three previous steps, do take this fourth step. The physical reason is, there are other improvements, which need to be undertaken which are within the now developed competence of the group. The sociological reason is that every human group that has successfully accomplished worthwhile undertakings is proud of itself and tends to seek out and do other things to justify and feed its group pride. It has developed team spirit, *esprit de corps,* patriotism, or, in simpler terms, group sentiments. Sentiment, not only holds groups together but makes them seek to perpetuate themselves. When they have developed sentiments or pride they seek things to do the undertaking of which will effectively perpetuate them as functioning, aspiring groups.

No other country in the world is so heroically attempting to develop hundreds of millions of local people and hundreds of thousands of local communities by democratic methods as is India. The magnitude of this undertaking should not obscure the basic fact that the successful processes for developing one local community after another are the same whether there are one thousand or five hundred thousand communities to be developed. The providing of trained local workers, the development of local groups to accept responsibility, and the development of local leaders, are the necessary components of a sound local community programme everywhere in the world.

V

THE IMPORTANCE OF DEVELOPING AND UTILIZING LOCAL LEADERS

Leaders are a part of the essential mechanism of groups. All groups therefore have leaders. They are those members of groups who for one or more reasons are especially trusted by other members of the groups. Because each group forms round some common interest, the person whom the group feels best represents that interest and can best explain it to others, is generally asked to help the group and to lead it. Seldom, and then more or less indirectly, do leaders initiate the formation of groups. It is the other way round, groups and group action develop leaders.

Unless a group is purely a conviviality group, with no other purpose than self pleasure, it wants to do things which will improve either its own condition or the condition of the community in which it is located. It wants a leader who will help it to explore possible solutions to its problems, will help it assess its own resources to solve these problems, and to be the group's emissary to those in command of resources which the group itself does not possess. A person who can do these things fairly successfully is a functional leader because he helps the group to gain ends which it desires. He is a 'natural leader' because he is himself a member of the group.

It is idle to expect anyone who is not a member of a group to play the role of its leader. Members of the group know that no outsider understands their limitations, and it is almost certain that they do not understand his limitations. They are, therefore, either insulted by his belief that their limitations are very marked, or they are frustrated by his assumption that they can do more than they know is possible. Worse still, they expect the outside leader miraculously to solve their problems for them. The tragedy is that many outside leaders very often attempt to do just this by calling in an excess of outside resources rather than developing the resources of the group.

For most of the problems which villages in India face there is need for outside assistance. The first assistance needed is for a consultant to help them know about all sources of assistance available to them, but more importantly to interpret their needs and desires to others. The description of the Village Level Worker as "the friend, philosopher and guide" of local groups is a quite perfect description of the qualifications of this needed consultant. He, however, can never play the role of a natural group leader. He can be effective in his role as a consultant and as a bridge between the group and others only if he knows who the natural group leaders are and works with groups through them. He cannot be with all groups at all their formal meetings, much less is he able to participate in all the many conversations which members carry on informally among themselves as they meet

each other day by day. No consultant, no matter how good a friend or guide he is, is a real member of any of the groups and for this reason he cannot be the group's leader of any local community group.

There is altogether too much faith in some supposed esoteric capacities of outside leaders and altogether too little understanding of the social fact that groups have natural leaders of their own. These persons may not be called leaders by either the other members of the group or by themselves. But they are silently trusted, and they are the persons, undoubtedly hundreds of thousands of them living in Indian villages, who can lead million of villagers to more effective and more zestful activities than can any other equal number of persons in the nation. If and when these leaders are identified, utilized and developed it will need to be kept sharply in mind that they are leaders of local groups, not leaders of any and every type of thing that others want local groups to do.

It has been demonstrated over and over again in India and many other countries, that if and when they become tools of outside agencies which, ask them to commandeer and manipulate their groups, they very quickly lose their group leadership. Their groups are, however, generally pleased to have them strengthened by training, to have them attend camps and seminars together with leaders from other localities, and to be recognized as effective emissaries to sources of outside help. But unless these things heighten their capacities to implement the desires and felt needs of their own groups they soon lose their followers.

More needs to be said about the local groups which these persons lead. Few of them are complete community groups. Most of them are "special interest" groups, each one of them primarily interested in one line of improvement—agricultural production, health, sanitation, education, home improvement, recreation, etc. In a community which is not highly stratified there are many overlapping and duplicate memberships in the various groups. Anyone who has looked at all carefully at local communities anywhere in the world knows that he will find this to be what might be called the normal social anatomy of local communities.

A complete community group is practically always something in addition to special interest groups. Its members are all members of one or more of the other groups who join hands for the purpose of total community development. The *community organization* once formed, however, seldom takes over the programmes of special interest groups. It seldom tries to direct their activities in any other fashion than to urge them to do more and better work on the things to which they are dedicated. Only by doing this, and by enlisting the interests, the talents, and part of the energies, of other groups and their national leaders in things that none of them are doing, do all aspects of village improvement receive due attention. Any one who attempts to mobilize every individual or family of a local community into a formal organization, and expects it to move in rigid, tight formation, will either

use army methods or will largely fail. Neither of them will accomplish democratic community development. Communities are, or can become, living organisms. Only by being permitted and encouraged to live and grow like organisms will they develop local group dynamics.

In local communities as sharply stratified as Indian villages are, there are few overlapping memberships in special interest groups. In fact most small groups are caste groups, not true special interest groups at all. One of the ways to secure overlapping group membership would be to promote special interest groups in the field of recreation, adult education, home beautification, and so forth. But because the small groups of villagers are relatively exclusive, an overhead organization which is promoting and doing things that are of equal importance to members of all groups would probably do more than anything to dilute or over-ride boundaries.

The greatest asset of a community organization that is wise enough to enlist the cooperation of all groups which exist in the village, is that it thereby discovers and uses a great many group leaders. If it tries to usurp the roles of other groups it restricts the roles of their leaders and very often incurs their enmity. It should be taken for granted that there are hundreds of thousands of local group leaders in Indian villages. Nothing is more important in the community development programme than to locate, use, and develop them.

VI

THE PROGRAMME IN OPERATION

At the Village Level

In my first visit to India, in February-March 1953, I visited some twenty villages in three States. I did not find that villagers knew much about the Five Year Plan, but they had begun to know that if they, either as individuals or as village groups, would do something to improve their own conditions and opportunities the Government would help them. I visited, in company with Village Level Workers and Extension specialists, some agricultural demonstrations tried out by individual farmers and heard the Government technicians explain the demonstrations to from twenty to fifty cultivators who gathered around. I saw a crude pole and mud school building thatched with rice straw which every family in the village had helped to build. When it was completed the Government provided teachers. There were forty children in the school. This was the project the villagers wanted most. I saw a Youth Club which was operating a small community garden and in addition each member had some small demonstration at his own home, with the consent, deep interest, and help of his father or mother. In every village I visited I saw and talked with villagers who appeared, acted like, and seemed to be accepted by other villagers as local village leaders.

There were at that time few well trained Village Level Workers. Blocks were not yet staffed and State Development Departments were not well organized. But everything I saw was sound Community Development—Extension work. I have since visited more than one hundred and fifty villages, most of them served by trained Village Level Workers, each worker backed by a corps of Block level technicians. I cannot testify that better, if as good, Community Development—Extension methods are universally being used today as in the Winter and Spring of 1953. I am inclined to believe that added official personnel, added official machinery, and propaganda methods have not contributed to the use of sound Community Development—Extension methods.

Village Level Workers are now much better trained. They are well accepted, often highly extolled, by villagers. These workers testify that they feel quite competent in technical fields, especially in agriculture. But when I ask villagers what the workers do to help them they much more often say that they help them to get Government money for some project, get seeds, fertilizers, and so forth, than they say that they help them in learning some new practice, or that they mobilize villagers as a group to undertake some community improvement. I have read many Village Level Workers' diaries and studied their record books and am convinced that in listing the chief things they do the villagers are correct. I ask Village Level Workers what they find easiest and what most difficult to do in their multiple-purpose activities. They say it is easiest to put on agricultural demonstrations. But

neither my observations of them at work nor what I have learned from reading their diaries show that they spend the major portion of their time in this line of activity. They say that the most difficult thing is to mobilize village groups which will take responsibility for improvement projects. What I have learned from detailed conversations with them and inquiries I have made at training centres, I am convinced they have never been taught how to help form and work with groups. Nor have they been taught to identify and use village leaders. They in fact often assume the leadership themselves.

I ask Village Panchayats whether they think villagers should plan their own projects and they say "yes". But when I ask them what they would plan next they do not by any means always name the project in which they have been asked to participate and for the doing of which they will be granted financial aid. It would thus appear that they have not been brought fully into local planning. Their natural leaders talk freely about what their villages want and need but someone else than they seems now to be exercising leadership in planning and carrying out projects.

I was asked by Indian authorities to try to discover whether and to what extent, the outlook of villagers has changed or is changing. I interpreted this broad question to mean : Are they enthusiastic about improvements being accomplished in their villages ? Are they optimistic about future improvements ? Have they developed aspirations which they never before had ? I can testify with confidence that they are palpably enthusiastic about what is being done in their villages. They name one thing after another that they look forward to seeing done. They say they will help do these things if Village Level Workers are kept there to help them. But they seldom mention their own organizations or their own leaders unless I prod them to do so.

They definitely have higher standards of living, that is they have visions, hopes, and expectations for better things. But they give the Government great credit for what has been done, and they apparently expect much from the Government in the future. How much their outlook about their own capacities has changed I do not know. How much they trust their own initiative is not evident. How much they have become self-starting and self-perpetuating groups it is impossible to discover because they seldom do anything in which the Government does not have a big hand.

That section of village population that is both economically and socially most disadvantaged, members of the Scheduled Castes, is participating universally in village improvements. They are doing more than their share of the work and receiving their share of at least some of the physical benefits. I have interviewed a number of their members and can report that most of them are not optimistic about their possible change of status in the villages where they live. They say their children find opportunity only when they receive something beyond primary school education and leave their native village

for employment elsewhere. At the moment their vertical mobility, advancement up the economic and social ladders, seems to depend on their opportunity for horizontal mobility, *i.e.* moving elsewhere. By and large they do not evince an optimistic outlook.

Village Level Workers were put to work in villages to help villagers technically do better all the things they must do. That is, they were to be Extension teachers in the field of agriculture, sanitation, health, adult education, and so forth. They were to encourage and help villagers to organize their own manpower and ingenuity and develop enthusiasm about their own self-help capacities and accomplishments. When I have asked village groups how they got started on the first project and accomplished so many things, they, without exception, said: "By help from Government". Only when I have said: "But the Government gives you the credit", did they say: "Yes, we helped". I would be surer of a changed outlook on their part if they were a little more self-prideful.

At the Block Level

The establishment of Block Offices staffed by a Chief Block Development Officer and a corps of Extension specialists, each Block to serve one hundred villages, was necessary as a technical support to first-aid Village Level Workers. It was also necessary in order to have some operating units between the offices of large Districts and the hundreds of villages which were to be served by a fast-moving programme.

Only a few Chief Block and Project Officers had been selected when I was first in India. I visited at fairly great length with some of them at that time. I was not too sanguine about their understanding of the whole programme that was just getting underway. They were competent persons in their fields but they had never learned what Village Level Workers were being taught in Training Centres, and had never done the kind of things trainees were doing as the practical part of their training. They were, as a matter of fact, skeptical about, and in some cases critical of, the whole new scheme of things. I have visited many Blocks during the past year, sat for hours with Block staffs, and travelled many days with Block Development Officers. My observations are diverse.

There is nothing more promising for the future than the detailed answers some Block Officers have given to my questions: "What were you doing before you became a Block Development Officer?" "What did you think about this new job when you were selected for it?" "What are you most enthusiastic about now that you are on the job?" "What most discouraged about?" Men who had looked forward to being Tax Collectors have seen a new vision, developed new zest, and testify that they never imagined they could be so dedicated as they now are to their new jobs. I have had them tell me how they treat those below them differently than they did in their old jobs, and am able to observe the truth of their assertions that they treat them as team mates and not as subordinates.

Not all Block Development Officers are, however, these types of persons. I have not observed one of them that I thought was not diligent. Some of them seem to be utterly smothered with details and some of them are trying to be specialists in all fields, which they are not. Some of them seem not to recognize how much more technical know-how the members of their staff possess than they do. A few of them say that some of the technical men on their staff do not take directions from them and that they as head of the Block organization do not even know where some of the technical men are much of the time. Because Block Development Officers are key men in the operation of the whole Community Development Programme, their high proficiency as captains of development teams should be guaranteed by those who select them and by far more training than they now receive.

The whole Block staff, including Village Level Workers, should constitute a development team. The Block Development Officer should be the captain of that team. He should be an entrepreneur of development in his Block, not an administrator in the common meaning of the term. He has no responsibility for law and order or revenue administration. He has a maximum of twenty-seven persons on his staff, counting the Village Level Workers, in the most intensive Blocks. His job is to get coordinated teamwork among that staff, to spend much time helping development groups and leaders in villages, and to educate all members of his staff and as many village groups and village leaders as possible on the whole development programme and process. I have seen Block Development Officers doing all of these things well. I have seen others doing some of these things well but failing badly in one or two others. My description of the role and genius of the Block Development Officer, and my characterisation of him as a key man in the whole Community Development Programme, is based on the best I have seen in Development Blocks in India. But the Block Development Officer because he is a key man should be better trained in community development methods.

Concerning the technical staff located in the Block, I have made special inquiry because they are supposed to be skilled Extension workers. I have tried to find out how they conceive their roles, how they carry these roles out, how they work with Village Level Workers, and what relations they have with District and State specialists. In interviews at Block Offices I asked this series of questions of each specialist. Generally the Block Development Officer has let each specialist make his own case. The agricultural, animal husbandry, sanitation, and health specialists quite generally seem to me to give fairly good accounts of themselves and their relationships with others. Some of the specialists in cooperatives come nearer to being propagandists than they do to being cooperative experts. The social education organizers are generally either vague or claim to do about everything. Practically none of them know, or practice, community mobilization methods. I checked with Village Level Workers about the work of Block specialists and got about the same opinion from them as those

I have just recorded. I, however, have seldom met up with any specialists in the villages, and am led to wonder if some of them spend as much time as they are supposed to working with Village Level Workers, village families and other village groups.

The competence and development of Block Extension specialists will become increasingly important as the programme develops. The rapidity with which villagers will increase their requests for accurate and usable technical knowledge will probably surprise everyone. Village Level Workers with the best and greatest possible amount of in-service training will not be equipped to supply this superior type of information. The Extension specialists must be equipped and ready to supply it. They will be able to do so only if they receive superior training, and if they come to know more and more about villagers' practical problems. Probably the best equipped persons to render these services in the future will be Village Level Workers who, in addition in their ample village experience, have been permitted and helped to obtain technical College education.

I have tried to learn all I could about the operation of Block Advisory Committees. I have been told by Block Development Officers the same thing that the recent Evaluation Report mentions namely, that attendance of non-official members of these committees is not good. Much needs to be learned about the constitution and use of Local Advisory Committees. The findings of a detailed study of local Extension Advisory Committees in Puerto Rico recently made, also shows poor attendance of non-official members. My own observations in India and in a number of other countries lead me to the conclusion that the claim on the part of officials that they desire non-official advice in order to keep their programme democratic and down to the recognized needs of local areas, is often a doubtful claim. At least part of the cause of poor attendance of non-official members is the fact that some Government servants would prefer to run their programmes without "interference from outsiders". It is probably true that some persons seek membership on such Committees in order to enhance their social, and sometimes their political, standing. But it is equally true that the programme must be the concern of and needs the sympathetic understanding and help of public figures. In a democracy it is the bounden duty of such persons to accept and exercise responsibility on these Advisory Committees. I have visited with non-official members of such committees in India who are deeply interested in Community Development—Extension Programmes in local areas, and are diligent in discharging their accepted obligations in the planning and execution of programmes. I am convinced that if Advisory Committees are constituted of only these types of persons in local areas, they can be very helpful in keeping it tied down to local needs.

Public figures should be on Advisory Committees for two reasons, first because many of them originally came from villages but have now widened their horizon of understanding, second they need, for proper performance of their present functions, a renewed knowledge of village life. But representatives of village groups, even if some of them are illiterate, should also be on these committees. They can more

intelligently and certainly more validly represent the opinions of villagers. Block Officers could learn much that they need to know from such advisers, and such representatives of villagers would also grow in their understanding of the whole development programme.

The District Level

I have visited districts and with District Collectors in about a dozen States. While District Collectors are exceedingly intelligent persons, they have not yet been brought functionally into the development programme. Some of those with whom I have visited are dominantly interested in, and are spending much time in learning about and keeping up with, the development work in their districts. Others leave all such responsibility to Additional Collectors or Planning Officers.

I have not spent as much time observing programme operation at the District as at the Village and Block levels. I am, however, impressed by the decision taken by the State of Bihar to make District Collectors equally responsible for development work and police functions. It is not enough to say that this is tacitly so everywhere. Bihar has made it so by a directive which definitely fixes responsibilities. The merit of this decision, it appears to me, is that coordination of the contributions and personnel of the various development departments of the State is made much more probable than is now sometimes the case. Furthermore, it captures and utilizes the high talents of District Collectors in the development programme. Unless, however, the technical men from the development departments, located in district offices, are highly competent they will not by any administrative arrangement be able to render adequate and much needed assistance to their technical counterparts in the Blocks.

On the whole it appears to me at the moment that District Office staff are the weakest link in the chain of the development programme. Staff members are not adequate in number, and some of them are weak in technical competence. I have no judgment on how much additional administrative staff a Collector may need in order to give them time to make themselves more intelligent about the Community Development—Extension Programme. But where their staffs have been strengthened, I am not sure that they have been strengthened with the most needed kind of personnel. In my judgment an Additional Collector or Planning Officer is not so greatly needed to strengthen a district's part in the development programme as are higher level and a greater number of technical personnel. I am convinced that both the channels and the coordination of technical assistance flowing to Blocks and villages would be far more effective if District Offices were staffed by higher ranking, exceedingly competent, technical specialists from all development departments of a State.

This appraisal of the Community Development Programme at the various levels of its operation is in no sense an attempt to report on all I have seen at the different levels of programme operation. It is, so to speak, a look at the assembly line in operation. This assembly

line is not yet operating smoothly, or by any means in the same fashion in all places. A few District Collectors are assuming responsibilities for the development programme along with their other duties. Most of their technical staffs are not adequate in number, and many of their technical staff members are not of a grade which guarantees their competence as Chief Agricultural Officers, Chief Health Officers, etc., over a greatly expanded District Development programme. Until they are the Development Departments of the State cannot adequately technically support the technical members of Block staffs, and there is thus a weak link in the chain of technical competence running from Development Departments to villages.

The Block Offices, with this corps of technical specialists and Village Level Workers, is the basic Extension unit of the whole programme. Every unit of administration above it should clearly recognize this, and furthermore recognize that it is its obligation not to make chore boys out of these Extension personnel. The same should be true of Block staff members in their relation to Village Workers.

The problems which villagers and Village Level Workers encounter in their day-by-day work in the Community Development—Extension Programme, when communicated to higher echelons of programme operation should determine the roles the personnel in these echelons of administration need to and should play. This is a hard lesson for administrators to learn but it is the only way by which "villagers will become the masters of Government officials who are their servants".

VII

SELECTING AND TRAINING PERSONNEL

In most under-developed countries there is a dearth of personnel with which to launch a Community Development—Extension Programme. There is also a lack of understanding about the amount and types of personnel required and the types of training they must have. In all under-developed countries the one type of personnel most lacking is workers who have both scientific and practical field experience. Many countries attempting to launch a Community Development—Extension Programme therefore either try to do it without local village workers or try to use College graduates as field workers. In the first case they never successfully reach down to and effectively involve the people in any responsibility for programmes. In the second case they try to reach local people but find themselves unable to do so.

Some countries hold up launching of a programme for months while they train Village Level Workers, and some of them delay for years while they try to increase the number of College graduates. Some of them go on for years before they discover that the type of College graduates they have are not effective local workers. Most of them, even when they recognize that they must use persons with something less than College degrees, attempt to conduct sub-College training at their Colleges, overlooking or not recognizing that these Colleges are not prepared for or capable of doing a practical job of training.

India avoided all these mistakes by starting the field programme and training of village workers simultaneously. Had she, as some other countries now in process of developing programmes are doing, decided not to launch a Community Development—Extension Programme until field workers were adequately trained, she would not easily have discovered what she has learned about the needed content of her training programmes. She would have had persons formulating curricula for training schools who did not themselves yet know what jobs the trainees would have to do. Her Department and College technical subject matter specialists would have packed the training centre syllabi with academic studies. Her trainers would not have known practical village work. Above all, she would have held up her programme for many months.

Because there are still places in the total training programme which it appears to me could be strengthened by a greater amount of "learning by doing" and that there are things that still need to be learned about selecting and training personnel, I deem it worthwhile to describe the things I think were learned out of India's early pragmatic experiences.

Village Level Workers

By selecting village boys with no more, and sometimes less, than high school education, it was quickly evident that such workers were accepted by villagers. It was quickly learned that training centres needed to provide a great deal of practical training. As improbable as it no doubt appeared to some at the start, it was quickly discovered that even training of a few months prepared workers to bring at least some small amount of new technical know-how to villagers. Above all, it was learned that villagers were "ready to go"; that they were anxious for technical assistance and willing to do their part if and when they could get it.

No matter how often stories are repeated about village workers hanging around villages for days before they were accepted and used, or how vivid the experiences of early break-through, the outstanding thing India has demonstrated is not only that "village approaches" required the use of village reared boys, but that training centre syllabi need to contain what trainees and trainers have discovered the village level job to be. Learning this first fundamental was the basis from which one improvement after another was made in training. More practical work was introduced into training. The training period was lengthened in order to provide more thorough training, especially in agriculture. It was found that training centres had to be strengthened in medical and sanitation instruction. And it became evident that Village Level Workers needed considerable technical assistance from persons with more technical know-how than they themselves had.

For those outside India who may read what is being said here, I have the impulse to quote some of the early suggestions, even recommendations, which, had they been followed, would have resulted in greatly slowing up the development. Even the launching of the programme would have been delayed and contributions which villagers, and the working together of villagers and Village Level Workers, have inculcated into the training programme would have been made much later than they were. Instead of following that impulse I shall turn to my assignment of a critical appraisal of the ways in which training programmes can be further strengthened.

There are two areas of training in which it appears to me there have not been as such analysis of the jobs which have developed in programme operations as there should be. In both these fields the doing of the jobs have evolved experiences which are not being used effectively to reorient trainees for the jobs. The functions of Block Development Officers and Social Education Organizers, like those of Village Level Workers, have developed norms which are not in complete keeping with the concepts had when the positions were established. It is a disservice to those occupying these positions not to make use of what has been learned in programme operation and not to redefine their jobs. And it is a disservice to the whole programme for those filling these positions not to be trained adequately to do the jobs which have evolved.

Selection and training of Village Level Workers is not perfect, nor are all Village Level Workers competent or diligent. Some Block Officers tell me that some of them ought to be dismissed but they have no authority to dismiss them. Some tell me that Village Level Workers who were selected primarily because they were "educated unemployed", but did not meet specified qualifications, have not proved themselves. These are cases where original criteria, which were good, have not been rigidly applied.

But by and large, however, I am impressed by the diligence, rapport with villagers, and the technical competence of most of the great number of village workers I have observed and with whom I have visited. They are overburdened with chores, assigned by those above them, and do not display too much genius for group and community organization. The first is probably the fault of administration. The second is due to the fact that the training centres do not have adequate training in the field of group methods. A goodly number of Village Level Workers have told me that they learned, in the first few months of their field work, more about working with villagers than they learned in their training centres. I suspect this is due to the fact that some of their instructors have not themselves had village experience and that some of them do not, as diligently as they should, accompany trainees in the practical village work they are required to do during the training period. But it is clear that the training of Village Level Workers has profited year by year from what Village Level Workers and those who train them have learned out of operation of the Community Development Programme.

It should be clear that higher officials, and no one Extension specialist, such as the Social Education Organizer, can himself organize functional local groups and mobilize whole village communities. The Village Level Worker is the only Government servant who is in daily contact with villagers. If he does not have the theoretical and practical knowledge of group formation and community organization, not much will be accomplished in these vital fields. If he is not taught these things in training centres he will not have this knowledge. Until there is at least one Instructor in each Training Centre who has this knowledge, Village Level Workers will not either be taught the theory or gain practical experience in group methods.

Block and Project Executive Officers

Discussing "the selection of Executive Officers to be placed in charge of individual projects", an early letter, signed "for the Secretary, Planning Commission" sent to "All State Governments", admirably described the qualifications for these officers and then said: "For appointment to these positions, therefore, it will be desirable to select the best persons, *whether from official cadres or otherwise*". (Underlining mine.) Very soon, however, it was decided that "the Project Executive" should be "either a junior officer of the I. A. S. or a fairly senior Deputy Collector" and "Assistant Project Officers" should be "approximate in status to Junior Deputy Collectors." To follow these

practices in any dynamic development programme is to restrict the maximum utilization of many persons who have developed and proven their competence in actual programme operation.

It was decided early to "make arrangements for a short course training for Project Officers", and it was stated that "it will be desirable that a part of their training be conducted in an Extension Training Centre along with Gram Sevaks". It is my observation, both of Block Development Officers on the job and of the Centres which train them, that the key positions Block Development Officers occupy require a longer period of training and more practical experience at the village level. An extended period of training with considerable work with Village Level Workers would seem to me to be required. There is need for greater elaboration of some syllabi subjects not now adequately developed and taught in the Training Centres, and addition of other subjects. Chief among these are training in the 'social skills', in teamwork of staffs, and in mobilization and organization of village groups.

Whether or not in the future Block Development Officers are sub-District Officers, it should be clear that they cannot be judicial and police administrators and at the same time be good Extension and Community Development entrepreneurs. They, therefore, need far more extensive and intensive training in Extension and Community Development methods. As to who are selected to be trained, this could very well be guided by the very early administrative admonition quoted above, that is, select the best available persons whether from official cadres or otherwise. What they should learn in the training centres should automatically be dictated by what has been learned during the last 3½ years about the job to be done.

If Block Development Officers are captains of Block development teams, they too must know and practice group processes and help all members of their staffs to do so. Not many of them will understand these methods unless they are taught them in Training Centres. Block Development Officers' Training Centres, therefore, must also have Instructors who know and can use these methods.

Social Education Organizers

The job of Social Education Organizers has not developed in field operation in the way it was originally delineated. These employees were to be, and in the beginning were called, "Community Organizers". The administrative communication to the States that notified them of the new term "Social Education Organizer" revealed clearly that adult education and community organization was what they were expected to do. This communication also said : "Social Education should be promoted through local people, and, in the first instance, through the primary and basic school teachers". But a memorandum on "Scheme for Selection and Training of Social Education Organizers" specified as qualifications for "Chief Social Education Organizer, a University degree in Social Work, or Economics, and/or Sociology,

with practical work experience of Social Work"; and for "Social Education Organizers, Matriculation or equivalent standard with experience of at least three years of practical Social work". The first batch of Social Education Organizers was to receive three months' training and all succeeding batches six months' training. The Memorandum just quoted stated that "the cost of giving short-term training in Social Education to school teachers would be considered a legitimate charge on the provision for Social Education".

This Memorandum also listed as "Functions of Social Education Organizers:—(i) Adult Literacy, (ii) Youth Movement, (iii) Women's Movement, (iv) Recreation". A slightly later communication stated that "Social Education Organizers would be responsible for cultural activities in project areas". These statements are quoted to reveal the confusion which has prevailed concerning who the Social Education Organizer was to be and what his functions are. I think they also show, that if followed, how literally impossible it is for any Social Education Organizer effectively to do all the jobs assigned to him. The Evaluation Report, April 1956, said that: "In spite of a very considerable advance already made, it cannot still be said that either the handicaps which beset the progress of the programme earlier have been completely overcome or that the new functionary, the Social Education Officer, has established himself as a member of the Block team of specialists.

I am inclined to state even more forthrightly my own conclusions, drawn from ample observations of Social Education Organizers in villages and Blocks, from visits with Village Level Workers about Social Education Officers, interviews with Block Development Officers and their staffs, and from visits with a large number of Social Education trainees in Training Centres. They are in brief:

1. That Social Education Organizer trainees, by and large, are not being selected from the sources originally specified; are not being given ample training or always under the tutelage of persons who are themselves skilled social scientists. Neither instructors nor trainees clearly envision the specified roles of Social Education Organizers in the field. Because of these two things, in very many cases, Social Education Organizers are not playing their roles in smooth teamwork with other Block specialists or with Village Level Workers. There are some outstanding exceptions to these generalizations.

2. Their training should be so amended as to implement the suggestions made in the Administrator's Memorandum of May 12, 1953, which Memorandum is the only definite statement of the roles of Social Education Organizers and the training they should have that I have seen in print or heard stated orally. I would especially commend his second and third specifications of the threefold function of the Social Education Organizer, namely: "(2) The Social Organizer is to

assist the multi-purpose village worker in applying the most appropriate methods for creating village interests in working together in a spirit of cooperation, directed towards solving village problems". "(3) Social Organizers will help the multi-purpose village worker utilize the most appropriate methods and techniques to assure the development of village people becoming self-reliant and responsible citizens, capable of making wise decisions and of effective participation as free citizens in the democracy."

In this same Memorandum the Administrator also suggested that Training Centres should provide "theoretical and applied training which is to increase the effectiveness of the Social Organizers in methods and techniques of groups and community organization." And he also said : "that it would be helpful to have the Community Projects Administration secure at least one highly trained person in the field of adult literacy work and in community organization, and assign him full-time to work with the five Training Centres, in rotation." From my observations and analysis I would make only one amendment, namely, that there should be one such person in adult education and another in community organization.

3. I would suggest that Block Development Officers be trained thoroughly in the field of methods and techniques of group and community organization and be expected, with the help of their staff, including Village Level Workers, to handle this vital, but now largely missing, activity in the Community Development Programme.

It was implied in a few paragraphs above that the sort of thing learned by experience about the selection and training of Village Level Workers has not been applied to the selection and training of Social Education Organizers. I have looked more carefully, and in greater detail, at Social Education Organizers at work in the field than I have any other specialists. I did this because I had thought they were supposed to be specialists in group and community organization. It is clear that most of them are not. Some of them are exceptionally proficient in organizing cultural and civic programmes. A few of them have developed talents in literacy education. A very few are exceptionally helpful to the Block Development Officers, other Block specialists and Village Level Workers in organizing camps, caravans, and tours. Practically none of them has proven that he or she can organize village communities. It is my judgment that they too should, like every other member of the Block team, be taught group and community organization methods. But they cannot themselves organize, systematically catalyze, and guide all the village groups there are, in a Block. It would be well to recognize that field experience has proven this and, just as in the case of Village Level Workers' training, Social Education Organizers' training should be adjusted to what has been discovered in field operations.

Block and District Extension Specialists

It appears to me that the future importance of Block and District Extension specialists can hardly be exaggerated, some 12,000 will be needed during the next five years. Many more thousands will be needed within the next generation. They must be recruited from promotions within the Community Development-Extension operating programme or from Extension Wings of Colleges of Agriculture where their training has included a lot of practical experience in Community Development-Extension work. On the competence of these specialists will depend the increased agricultural production on which so much depends. Funds spent in training these specialists can be made to yield greater returns than funds spent in reclamation of new lands.

Extension personnel once well trained are a self-renewing natural resource. Not only the Extension work they do personally but the growing knowledge which they impart to villagers will be used during the remainder of the villagers' lives and passed on to their children. These cumulative results of Extension work should make funds to be spent for training Extension personnel a very high priority. It is primarily Extension work, not creation of new physical resources, that has rapidly increased the productivity of advanced countries. If such progress is to be expected in village production it should be recognized that it will come from the influence of a large corps of competent Block and District Extension Specialists.

The Rural Institutes may be able to provide in-service training, or additional training in Social Science, to prepare Village Level Workers for promotion to higher positions in the operating programme. They may be able to provide Social Science training for other persons who have had practical experience in village life. But surely it should be recognized that an increase in agricultural and technical colleges will also be required. Extension specialists cannot be trained quickly. They cannot be trained effectively without an increase in the number of institutions to train them.

It would seem to me that there is great need for already established types of Colleges and Universities to use some of their training to prepare persons for the nation's physical, economic and social needs for technical and Social Science personnel. With each rapidly advancing stage of development these needs will be greater. No institutional system of higher education can expect to remain the capstone of personnel training for a rapidly developing society unless it recognizes and discharges its responsibility to the country's development programme. The development programme cannot expect to advance steadily to higher technical and social levels without the assistance of Colleges and Universities.

Primary and Secondary School Training

No appraisal of the need for training facilities and institutions dare leave out consideration of primary, middle and secondary school training. Primary school education alone can provide the great broad base from which millions of persons start up the educational ladder which

leads some of them to higher learning but very many of them to competence for filling intermediate echelons of semi-skilled and technical employment. The number and types of these echelons will proliferate rapidly in India. How great her need is to strengthen primary and secondary school education can be seen from a comparison of the educational pyramids of India and Japan. The following graph presents that comparison.

The space between the peripheries of the two pyramids above shows the deficiencies of primary, secondary and high school training in India, as of 1951. Less than one-half as high a percentage of the children of primary school age were in school in India as in Japan at that time. Japan had 6½ times higher percentage of her boys and girls of secondary and high school age in schools than did India.

Japan has already developed the intermediate echelons of occupational and professional employment which India desires to develop as rapidly as possible. But lack of adequate primary educational facilities will prove a rather serious hurdle to this desired consummation. That the leaders of India are fully conscious of the need is demonstrated by the fact that they made specific provision in the Constitution that: "The State shall endeavour to provide within a period of ten years education for all children until they complete the age of 14 years." There has been material progress in educational facilities and performance during the last five years, and there will be more during the next five years. But one wonders whether the progress will be rapid enough to supply the need for the millions who will be required to supply trained personnel in all development programmes.

In 1951 India had 86·7 million children of school age (5 to 14 years). These will have moved up to age group 15 to 24 by 1961, and 54·7 million of them will be illiterate and thus have little absorptive capacity for modern techniques just when they are ready to enter the labour market. In 1951 India had only 383 thousands, 0·8 per cent of those between 15 to 24 years of age, who were receiving University education of a general character, and another 68 thousand or 0·001 per cent, of this age group in professional or special Colleges.

According to the estimates of the Second Five-Year Plan, Universities will have turned out 597,000 graduates of general University courses and 92,000 diploma holders in engineering and other technical courses, between 1951 and 1961. If the educational pyramid of India was similar to that of Japan there would be in India in 1961, 2,400,000 students in Universities and professional training institutions. The point being made here is that all who enter secondary schools, high schools or Colleges, must first be provided primary school education.

It would be difficult to exaggerate and is even difficult to imagine the numbers of trained personnel who will be required to serve India's development programme at the stage to which it will have advanced within 20-25 years. Not only the numbers but the qualifications of all

THE EDUCATIONAL PYRAMID

The Broad Picture Enrolment in educational institutions as % of population in age group 1950-51.

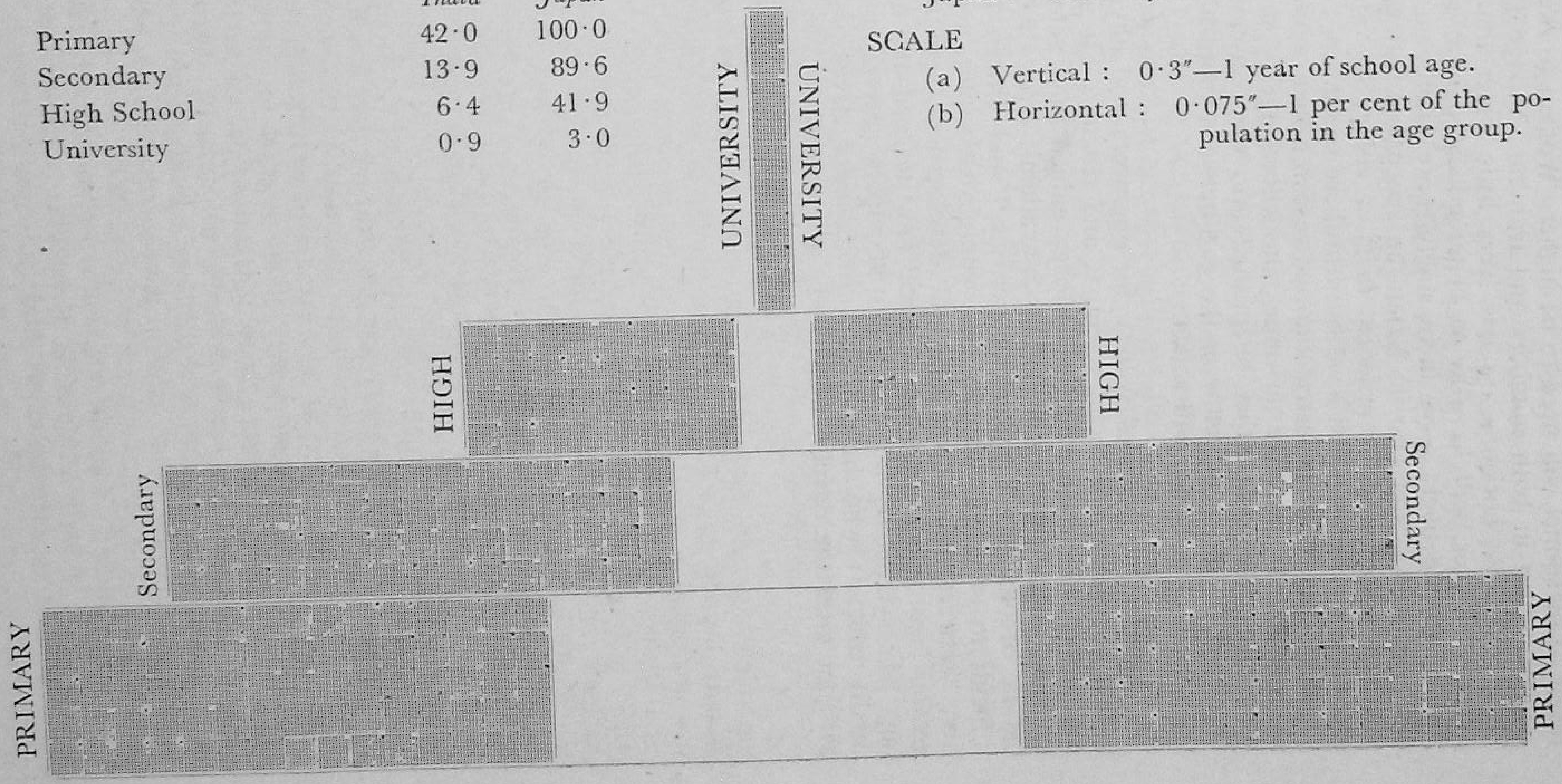
	India	*Japan*
Primary	42·0	100·0
Secondary	13·9	89·6
High School	6·4	41·9
University	0·9	3·0

The Legend

India : Inner Pyramid.
Japan : Outer Pyramid.

SCALE

(a) Vertical : 0·3″—1 year of school age.
(b) Horizontal : 0·075″—1 per cent of the population in the age group.



levels of personnel will need to be higher. Women workers will be particularly short in both numbers and training. Village Level Workers, many of whose horizons are now very little wider than those of the average villager, will have to be better educated both technically and socially to effectively serve increasingly more intelligent and inquiring villagers. Block and District Extension specialists will have to be real scientists who know the practical facts of village life and work. Colleges and Universities will have to train these specialists. In order to do so adequately, College instructors and research men will need not only to be scientists but have an immediate knowledge of practical village problems. They will either be pushed into the consciousness of this fact by demands from below or the gap between more highly educated persons and the masses will widen.

As great as the need will be for engineers and physical scientists it will be greater for social scientists and teachers. It appears to me that only as experience and knowledge gained in development at the bottom gradually but surely influence academic circles will higher education become the capstone of personnel and citizen training. It is difficult to see how this can be accomplished unless training institutions between the Universities and development activities are given greater leeway to teach what they will have learned and are now learning. The syllabi, reading material and papers now prescribed by University officials who have little knowledge of development activities will not meet the development needs of tomorrow.

VIII

VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS

Voluntary group effort is a part of the deepest value and traditions of India. Each group is composed of persons who have common ideals and purposes and each is generally willing, even anxious, to expend a great deal of thought, time and effort to furthering these ideals and purposes. Unless the purposes and activities are subversive to the ideals and purposes of the great society of which their members are citizens, such voluntary organizations can and do contribute much to the democracy and dynamics of social action. The spontaniety and voluntary effort of these groups need not be especially stimulated because such groups grow naturally out of a free society.

Voluntary organizations cannot, however, be assigned tasks as if they were a part of a bureaucracy. Their efforts cannot be turned off and on, like the flow of water, with a spigot. But if it is recognized by everyone that they and they alone are expected to be responsible for certain types of action they will systematically organize and direct their efforts toward these ends. If no such responsibility is expected of them, their efforts are often episodic, spasmodic, and even disruptive, and their purposes likely to be selfish. Not only does initiative inhere in the volunteerism of such groups but additional initiative, and leaders, grow out of the responsibility such groups are willing to assume.

All volunteer groups select leaders in order to act effectively. Leaders arise and develop out of group action because they are necessary components of group action. One of their roles is to be liaison with those who are not members of their groups, including Government agencies. But they do not thereby become the agents of Government. They remain leaders of their own voluntary groups. The fact that they are liaison between their groups and others does not mean that leaders of voluntary groups and these groups themselves can be directed by Government servants. To attempt this is to dilute the freedom and stultify the action of both voluntary groups and their leaders.

Nothing is more needed than leaders on all levels in India's present great effort. I am told, for instance, that there are a few women leaders, even leaders of other women, in villages. I am confident that women leaders would automatically emerge out of groups organized around women's interests in villages. Responsible local leaders of other types will emerge just to the extent that local groups are made responsible for local effort. Responsible farm leaders and labour leaders will emerge out of responsibilities granted or permitted to farm and labour groups. Some of the most powerful and useful voluntary groups in democratic countries, once they are recognized as legitimate and are given responsibility, become exceedingly useful in building and maintaining dynamic society. Indeed it is doubtful that a democracy of millions of people can be successfully operated without these so-called special interest or special purpose groups.

As the literacy, and understanding, of India's masses increase, large voluntary groups of various types will develop. Large well organized, powerful farmer and labour groups are assets in a large complex society. Their National, State and local leaders alone have a deep understanding of the practical economic and social problems of their members. Their contribution is not only that they clearly and validly reveal these problems to others but that they themselves help solve the problems. Such groups always become pressure groups for various kinds of Government action. But if they are listened to, and responsibility is imposed on them, they strengthen, rather than weaken, the Government's efforts in constructive action.

In democratic societies, farmer, labour and welfare organizations of various kinds are expected by Governments to make outstanding and continuous contributions to the solutions of problems which lie within their special fields of interest. They are not only expected to but often assisted by Governments to do so. If they are not urged to organize effectively and to voluntarily accept such responsibilities, they organize any way. But they do so sporadically and thus ineffectively. They may in that case be disruptive, rather than constructive groups.

Quite different from large farmer and labour voluntary groups are a great number of groups which organize on purely sentimental or idealogical grounds. They too may be useful if they promote and develop knowledge about, and mobilize sentiment in behalf of, worth while causes. The weakness of many such groups quite often lies in the fact that their members may have no personal stake in the accomplishment of the things they promote. They exhort others to do things, or they try to assume responsibility for the welfare of others than for themselves. They even try to be leaders of those whose causes they plead. One observing such groups is never sure, nor do the promoters and leaders of such groups always know, how much they are animated by altruism and how much by a desire for personal and public status. Groups of this type are therefore quite different than those which are promoting the interests of their own members and whose members represent large sectors of the economic and social structure of the nation.

Large altruistic purely voluntary groups are however desirable for the development and functioning of a progressively dynamically developing society. They have most often been the groups, or organizations, which have pleaded the causes of women, children and disadvantaged classes. They have also been the promoters of intelligence about the need for conservation of natural resources, for primary and adult education, for civil rights, for universal sufferage, for local government, and other things essential to a democratic society. If, however, they are purely propaganda groups, their members not themselves participants in constructive action, they may be little more than the froth rather than the sinews of democracy.

The first of the two types of great voluntary groups just described successfully mobilize people for worth while undertakings, who cannot be mobilized under Government stimulus or direction. Such groups

quite often pioneer many undertakings which Government cannot afford to sponsor. One of the typical contributions they have made is the development of patterns of organized action which later became the blueprints for great Government supported institutions and agencies. As a matter of fact this is the way many valuable institutions have grown.

For one who has observed the need for those many institutions in India which more affluent governments are able to support, it would seem to be imperative that many voluntary groups should be organized to do the groundwork of evolving many types of institutions, not only welfare institutions but co-operatives and local government. In a number of Latin American countries large farmers' organizations were the leaders in research for decades before their governments were able to support or even saw the need for government research institutions. In highly technological societies, voluntary organizations are among the outstanding research agencies. In Denmark the numerous gigantic co-operatives are people's not government, institutions.

There is probably no better illustration in the world of voluntary organizations laying the foundations and evolving much of the structure of an institution than the great social security institution which was established in England by the Social Insurance Act of 1911. "Friendly Societies" which were started in one local community after another almost one hundred years earlier, rendered such necessary and valuable service that local governments, and in time, the national government, were using these societies to administer the vast bulk of all government welfare funds. Local societies, many of which had earlier voluntarily federated, were required to organize by use of fairly standardized procedures, and required to meet specified standards of performance in order to receive and administer government funds. When the National Social Security Act was passed it was the natural capstone of a great institution which had slowly but surely developed over the years.

The spirit of volunteerism in India is probably equal to or greater than any other country in the world. It is a great dynamic potential. Great potentials become great forces for good if effectively harnessed and organized for good purposes. They, however, lose much of their dynamics if the zest of individuals and groups which generate these dynamics are too tightly harnessed and completely directed by the dictates of others than themselves.

IX

LOCAL INSTITUTIONS

Most local institutions have grown out of voluntary groups. Institutions are the forms of people's organizations which have been performing specific vital functions for a sufficiently long period of time to have proven their utility, and because of this have been handed down from generation to generation. A simple sociological definition of an institution is that it is a sanctioned form of human association that is buttressed by the mores and often considered to be sacred. Forms of family life are the most ancient institutions in the world. Local communities are the second most ancient. Both of these are present everywhere in the world unless they have been destroyed or superseded by overhead governments.

In India the ancient form of local community organization, the Panchayat was the institution of local government. It was so greatly diluted by Colonial overhead government that it was practically destroyed. Agents of overhead governments placed in villages, came to have greater power in some important fields than did the Panchayats. Taxation from above was substituted for the joint utilization of local natural and human resources for the benefit of the local community. Overhead government decided how much of the locally collected tax funds would be expended for local services and improvement. Now that India faces the task of re-establishing local government she naturally desires to rehabilitate old and revered Panchayats. The problem is not only that of "pouring new wine into old bottles" but in mending most of the old bottles.

The problem that confronts her cannot be solved by borrowing patterns from those countries which have the strongest institutional system of local government. For in those countries all higher levels of government developed out of local government units, which had for generations been the only government there was. State and National governments grew by adding governmental functions which the units of local government had never performed. Or they grew, and are still growing, by taking over, many times at the request of local units of government, functions which had previously been performed by local governments. In India the solution must be found in the ways by which functions and responsibilities can be handed back to or developed on the part of local units of government. I would think that it is widely recognized that this cannot successfully be done merely by making local units the "last man on the totem pole" in a hierarchy of government administration. Local governments must, of course, share some responsibilities concurrently with State and National governments, but they are useful chiefly because they perform functions on their own initiative and assume responsibilities for obligations which they impose upon themselves.

To develop the capacity for such initiative and responsibility is the supreme purpose of a Community Development Programme. If this not accomplished the programme will fail in one of its main tasks. If it is accomplished a greater contribution will be made to the development of local government than can be made by assigning to Panchayats special tasks in the development programme or by legislation decreeing that Panchayats shall be established.

I have, within the last four years, had the opportunity fairly carefully to observe three different countries in which the establishment of units of local government has been decreed by law. In each case fairly ample funds were appropriated to be placed at the disposal of these local units. In one case the funds have not been permitted to flow to the local bodies because government officials have no faith in the bodies. In another case government servants, not the local bodies, are taking all decisions on how and for what purpose the funds shall be used. In the third case the programme has been abandoned because it was soon discovered that powerful landlords and old Headmen were directing all local undertakings and sometimes misusing the funds. India is determined that none of these things shall happen in her attempt to reconstitute or rehabilitate her Panchayats.

The rights, privileges and obligations of local governments must, of course, be prescribed by law. But local groups can and should learn how to exercise responsibilities by assuming responsibility for community development projects. Authority to do specified things may be handed down from above, but responsibility for doing these things cannot. Responsibility must be assumed by those who are expected to exercise it. If local communities as such are developed they will assume such responsibilities, elect their own leaders and follow and help those leaders in all sorts of undertakings. These leaders because they are honoured by being chosen will assume obligations and responsibilities which no one else can impose. That this has already happened has been evidenced when I have been told by a number of assembled village groups that they consider their elected Panchayat as only the executive committee of the much larger voluntary body which has been carrying out village improvement projects.

I have, however, visited with recently elected Panchayats in villages where there has been no organized development group and was not convinced that those chosen as panches were in any sense proven-functional village leaders. I have visited villages where Panchayats have recently been elected and where I am convinced that the election served to tear the villages to pieces so badly that development work will be handicapped for some time to come. I cannot claim that the number and types of situations I have been able to observe are a representative sample of India, but I am driven to what I believe are two sound conclusions, *one,* that the development of local institutions, including local government should be a natural product of Community Development, and, *two,* that Community Development personnel are not doing all they should and could do to mobilize village groups for the initiation and responsibility for development projects.

If villages are natural social and economic resources units for development activities, they are natural units for local governments. If they are such natural units but have not for generations been permitted or encouraged to assume any responsibility for development; if they have been poorly served and sometimes segmented by government agencies attempting to serve them; if they have been torn by factions, the greater is the need that they be helped to develop into responsive and responsible cohesive communities. It is difficult to see how they can be local governments until this basic job of Community Development has been accomplished. The steps in the process of Community Development by which this can be accomplished need not be repeated, but the faith and the knowledge that it can be accomplished does need to be emphasized.

In addition to what has been said at a number of places in this report, it should be emphasized that the surest guarantee that there will be integration, and thus co-ordination, of all government agencies seeking to serve local people, is that each of them is working with the same organized village group trying to accomplish a common undertaking. If the undertaking is dictated by the village group and not by someone of the government agencies or even by a single overhead co-ordinating administration, the local group will accomplish a degree of co-ordination which is almost impossible of attainment at State and National capitals. Factions, that have developed among persons and families who have had few common interests, will dissolve in the process of carrying out common undertakings.

There is not a type of project in the whole gamut of Community Development projects that does not require for its successful accomplishment the formation and functioning of local groups. The ends of the Extension programme can best be gained by using this means, and the successful employment of the means may for the future be even a greater result than is secured by any one Extension objective. Groups formed for development work will automatically tend to perpetuate themselves. Leaders chosen by groups who have been working on development projects will have proven themselves. They will be needed as panches and sarpanches and will have high probability of being elected to these positions.

I have been looking primarily at local situations, visiting with villages and village groups, and with government servants who serve them immediately. I have tried to find out what villagers are thinking and learning about the rights, privileges, and obligations of Panchayats. I have not discovered that they are thinking much about these things or that stimulating them to do such thinking is very much a part of the Community Development process and programme. Only here and there has a villager told me that the development of groups and the learning to initiate and be responsible for self-development is one of the important things that has happened in his village.

I have heard no arguments in any circle against the idea that local institutions are necessary instruments for promoting local development and necessary units of democratic government. I have heard arguments

that once statutory Panchayats are established the role of voluntary bodies should be restricted. But I have always heard these arguments countered by statements that local institutions, even local government, must grow out of people's voluntary organizations. I am sure this is sociologically correct. Statutory institutions like local units of government must be permitted and sanctioned by law, but they must also be understood and sanctioned by the people and the groups who are expected to sustain, maintain and operate them. I believe that some State divisions of Panchayats are using excellent methods in promoting the organization of Panchayats but it is the role and duty of District, Block, and above all, Village Community Development personnel to develop people and local groups which, to quote a statement from the First Five-Year Plan, are able "to make self-reliant efforts to carry out all their activities in an approved business-like and progressive manner".

X

PLANNING, ACTION AND EVALUATION

Planning

The contribution India is making to democratic planning may very well be one of the chief contributions to the world out of her Development Programme. The First Five Year Plan was a remarkable statement of the components of India's economic, social and political life and structure, as of 1951-52. It was an assessment of the country's problems and the extent to which her natural, human and technical resources, if developed, could solve these problems. It attempted to foresee the sequence of priorities to which efforts and funds should be dedicated in order that the development of those resources should be tackled first, which would most definitely condition other components of development. In describing types of programmes that needed to be launched, the Plan drew heavily on the experiences and records of countries which had, during the last few decades, accomplished rapid development. In describing methods to be employed it drew more heavily on experiences which had been gained in various types of development here and there in India over the preceding thirty years.

I read the First Five Year Plan 2½ years ago and was tremendously impressed with the understanding of Community Development processes it expressed. I have read and re-read it since and, in writing this report, have had the impulse to document many things I have said by quoting passages from the Plan. I have done some of this, but I recognize that no National Plan can be, like an architect's blueprint, capable of being carried out to the last detail. I recognize especially that it is easier to specify *processes* than it is to initiate and carry them out, and that the most difficult processes to describe and specify are those which involve the energizing and organizing of people and people's groups.

It is possible, fairly accurately, to assess physical and economic resources and to prescribe physical and economic targets. It is very difficult to assess human resources in any other terms than manpower. It is probably impossible to prescribe social and cultural targets. All a Plan can do, as the First Five Year Plan did, is to recognize and assert that "the central objective of planning is to create conditions in which living standards are reasonably high, and all citizens, men and women, have full and equal opportunity for growth and service". Probably the only thing that a Plan can do about programmes of action is to designate the types of programmes that should be launched.

How these programmes are initiated and operated determine whether persons and communities are developed, and through the processes of their development higher standards of living be accomplished and old cultural and social values buttressed or progressively changed. Because a great programme of action is so highly geared to the different things that must be done in promoting, directing and operating the

programme, it is essential that constant evaluation of the programme be carried out to ascertain whether or to what extent these less tangible results are steadily accruing in the lives and purposes of people and communities.

National planning can and should specify and outline national objectives. It should not in a democratic society try to specify, much less attempt to outline, local community objectives. The First Five Year Plan did not do this. It in fact stated that: "as individuals or as groups, citizens have to discover their own practical answers and the contributions they are best able to make" (p. 145), and that: "It is necessary to stress the importance of ensuring right from the start, the people's participation, not merely in the execution of the Community Development Project but also in its planning".

I have seen very few places where this wise admonition has been even partially followed. I cannot understand why. It would be very simple and easy to inform village groups that they may choose any area or areas of improvement that they desire, in the fields of agriculture, health, sanitation, education, public works, etc., and that Government assistance will be available. If Government is aware that some types of projects are more important for national development and welfare than others, the principle and practice of local planning would not in the least be violated by relatively higher Government grants and greater technical assistance for these types of projects.

Learning from Action

As necessary as planning was and is, and as excellent as the First and Second Five Year Plans are, India's greatest contribution to methods and programmes of Community Development will not be chiefly the fact that her programme was planned. It will be what has been learned by trial, error, and success in the many different things that must be done and have been done in promoting, directing and operating the programme. The first thing that was necessary in launching the programme was that those in charge of the operation were compelled to be more specific in prescriptions and designs for action than the Five Year Plan had needed to be or could have been. The administrators also had to be and were planners in designing instructions, in setting up elaborate administrative machinery, in deciding on echelons of personnel needed, and in selecting that personnel. Planning did not stop when the First Five Year Plan was approved officially.

The Community Development Programme in India is the most giant planned and govermentally administered programme of its kind in the history of the world. It has planned and tried some things which have never been tried before, probably the most significant being that of channelling technical and material assistance from all departments and agencies of Government down to villagers through a co-ordinated and integrated scheme of Extension administration. It has tried some things which I believe it could have foreseen would not work well, had it known more about the experiences gained elsewhere in the world, and had it known of the fairly well validated large body of technical

knowledge concerning group formation and community mobilization. It has, however, had successes which if carefully analyzed and objectively and clearly described will not only guide its programme in the future but will be a great contribution to other countries, especially to developing countries which want, or need to use Community Development-Extension methods and programmes of development.

Evaluation

The wisdom of setting up a Programme Evaluation Organization independent of the programme administration and directly under the National Planning Commission, was outstanding. But this is not the only type of evaluation of the programme that is outstanding. Intra-State and Regional Seminars which include among their participants persons from all levels of programme planning and operation is probably unique in all the world. The third year of these series of Seminars has just been completed, each series topped off by a State Development Commissioners' Conference. At these Conferences something approaching plans to guide the next year's programme are formulated.

Through the various levels of Seminars items of success and failure from all over the country are not only reflected but discussed. In many of the Intra-State Seminars the majority of the participants are those who work at the village level, and in the best ones there are a goodly number of village people, themselves. In other Intra-State Seminars, District and Block Officers make up the majority of the participants. In the Regional Seminars all levels of personnel and all echelons of administration are represented. Thus something approaching programme planning is constantly in process, and something approaching evaluation is continually taking place.

I have attended six Regional Seminars and two Intra-State Seminars. If I were to put together a description of all the best things I have seen it would constitute almost perfect specifications for accomplishing the purposes for which these Seminars were designed and are operated. None of them, however, has been perfect, and it is my purpose here to make suggestions on ways in which they can be strengthened. Since they are supposed to be free, open, and critical discussions among all levels of personnel, it is important that the issues and problems which arise at all levels of programme operation make up the items of the agenda, and it is important that those working at the level of programme operation where each issue comes to focus should, out of their day-by-day and week-by-week experiences, make the major contributions in the discussion of that issue. It is my observation that this is not adequately done in that the contributions of those working at the village level are not adequately solicited and insisted upon.

In no one of the Regional Seminars that I attended has the Village Level Workers been the dominant voices in discussing local issues, such as, whether and to what extent targets are set by other than village groups, and whether and to what extent grants made for certain

objectives and not for others may fail to mobilize the interest and the energies of village people to the same extent that would probably be possible if villagers choose the objectives and prescribe the targets. I did observe this being done admirably at the Bhopal Intra-State Seminar, but I think I observed this process absolutely sabotaged in practically all Regional Seminars by maximum participation of others and minimum participation of Village Level Workers.

Each higher level of Seminar from Intra-State to Regional Seminars to the State Development Commissioners' Conference gathers up the information, and discuss issues, which have come from the bottom up.

The Development Commissioners' Conference each year is thus able to make maximum evaluation of past programme operation and use their evaluation findings for future programme guidance. Thus these Conferences are the capstone of all other levels of Seminars which truly evaluate the programme at all levels of operation.

The work and findings of the Programme Evaluation Organization is so outstanding, and its reports so valuable for future programme guidance, that I am tempted to discuss these numerous reports in detail. Instead of doing that, I shall only state the judgment that every programme weakness or strength which I have discussed, or even identified, in this critical appraisal should be thoroughly and objectively analyzed by the Programme Evaluation Organization. Every blind spot of needed information should be lighted by as deep and detailed an analysis as is required.

Measures should be designed and used to assess the extent to which so-called intangible but desired psychological, social, and cultural results are being accomplished. The functioning of local voluntary groups, the development or lack of development of local leaders, the successes and failures of Panchayats, and of various types of Co-operatives, the social skills of administrators in various levels of programme operation, the extent to which Community Development-Extension methods are or are not being used, the extent to which disadvantaged classes are or are not being reached and helped, even the degree to which villagers' outlooks are being changed, should all be studied by the Programme Evaluation Organization. There are methods of determining the extent to which the programme is reaching all segments of village people, and where it is not, and why. Attitudes, intentions, and aspirations can be identified and so collated as to be objectively analytical. The extent to which social skills are being used in administration can be identified, collated and analyzed. There are validated methods of making all these types of analysis. The Programme Evaluation Organization should be so staffed that it can use them.

Evaluation at one pole of its function is mere census recording, after the fact. At the other pole it is fundamental research. The findings of even census takings, of course, have considerable programme guidance value. They show where progress, as measured by

the facts reported, is and is not being made. But the blind spots can be lighted only by deeper research; not research for the sake of research, but research to discover what can and should be done to improve programme operation. Whatever needs to be known for this purpose, whether concerning villager attitudes and reactions, effective and ineffective contacts and relations between Government servants and villagers, or between various levels of Government servants, training of all types, and even administrative procedures and relations, are fields for research and evaluation.

The Programme Evaluation Organization should be staffed by competent personnel in all these fields of analysis. Universities and other research organisations might very well be invited to help in some of these fields. Both they and evaluation would gain by such an arrangement.

The areas in which research for programme guidance is most needed are the effectiveness of Extension-Community Development methods and the effectiveness, or ineffectiveness of propaganda methods. I would hypothesize, (1) that propaganda methods may very well be stimulating the belief on the part of villagers and village groups that if they will do what others urge them to do, they will forever receive handsome financial grants from Government, and (2) that sound Extension-Community Development methods will develop competence, confidence and self-reliability on the part of both villagers and village groups. Whichever of these two things result from methods being used in development programmes will be carried over far into the future.

It is my guess that if good Community Development methods are used Government will need much greater funds than can now be foreseen to provide the technical assistance alone which alert and progressive villagers will be requesting within the next generation. This much to be desired result from the use of Extension-Community Development methods will occur, however, only if every type of project in which villagers are being invited to participate is a learning experience on the part of each villager. For it is out of repeated or multiple experiences in learning that he develops faith in his capacity to grow and develops a desire to continue to grow. It will be this desire to grow which is the evidence of his "changed outlook". And it is his desire to grow that will create the demand for technical information which will help him to grow. Evidence that the factors and processes of such growth are occurring is a far better and more accurate measure of the progress of the Extension-Community Development Programme than is the momentary completion of physical targets.

A careful and continuous evaluation of growth factors and processes would not only reveal weak spots in the programme, but would probably reveal some startling successes. One thing I think it would reveal is that a programme of such magnitude and diversity no longer needs pilot projects to discover the best possible ways of carrying out each type of project. This is not to say that pilot projects are not

needed to demonstrate how to strengthen some as yet pronounced weak spots in the Community Development-Extension Programme. I would mention especially health work, small industries, and work with and organization of women. What I am emphasizing is that every successful agricultural, health, sanitation, adult education, or group formation and community mobilization demonstration any place in India is a pilot project for the whole of India, and that whatever personnel and organization is required to search out and make objective analysis of successful undertakings would cost less than a few planned pilot projects and would, I am certain, yield a great amount of valuable information for planning and guiding future programme operations.

XI

A PROGRAMME OF CHANGE

Before I come to the final section, Recapitulation and Suggestions, I want to make my maximum contribution, as a Sociologist, to the major issues of change. Conflict between reverence for the past and hopeful expectations for the future exist and will continue to exist among intellectuals. Such is the case in all societies and cultures. But what intellectuals think is not as important as what the masses do and think about change. A statement made in the first section of this report will bear repetition in this context. If the revolutionary changes desired, and probably needed, are to be accomplished by evolutionary methods, nothing is more imperative than a thorough understanding of how this can be done in one village after another, in one home and on one farm after another. The habits of millions of persons must be changed or modified and gradually their attitudes, or outlook, changed or modified.

The habits and customs of villagers are the tested ways of doing things which past generations, out of their accumulated experiences, have handed down to the present generation, are learned by the present generation, and are now being practised by millions of people. Customs are ways of doing things which have been handed from generation to generation. Attitudes and beliefs are ways of thinking which have been passed down and accepted. Programmes of change have to reckon with these traditional ways of living and thinking. They will not reckon with them intelligently if it is believed that these old ways have no proven validity.

But it is a fallacy to believe that there is no desire on the part of the people to change these ways if they learn better ways to do those things which are important to them. All people, no matter how simple, have constantly changed in the past. They have changed slowly, and for good and sufficient reasons. Now it is hoped and believed that they can and will change rapidly. No greater effort was ever made in all history than is being made in India to prove that this can be done. There is, therefore, great need for a widespread understanding of the conditions under which and the methods by which change in individual practices, change in attitudes, change in village organization and leadership, and thus change in organized group effort, can be effectively accomplished. A knowledge of the findings of a large body of anthropological and sociological research, and an anxiety to learn all possible from the accumulated experiences of change in their own and other societies and cultures can contribute greatly to this understanding. A use of the technical know-how developed out of research, and validated by successful experiences in the field of change is as necessary in a Community Development-Extension Programme as is the technical know-how of genetics in a programme of plant and animal improvement or the technical know-how of engineering in a programme of constructing dams and railroads.

Successful change, whether in the field of individual practice, group accomplishment, or administering people's programmes, requires learning of new ways of doing things. The first and most fundamental fact known about how people learn is that they must start with the body of knowledge they already possess and make adjustments in or additions to that body of knowledge. Both the chief block and facilities to such learning are fairly well known.

One block to the learning and adoption of change is the simple lack of understanding of what the change is and what it may mean. Individuals are not likely easily to give up old ways for new ones, the working of which they only dimly understand. That is why a knowledge of new ways of doing things must be grafted on to a knowledge of old ways of doing the same things. Another block is that new ways of doing and thinking always create psychological insecurities, and sometimes create ethical and spiritual insecurities. Change automatically creates uncertainty about what is really happening and what can be expected. Furthermore, old ways practised for generations are likely to be considered sacred. Beliefs about their rightness are taken as much for granted as the air the people breathe.

Generally, the most conservative persons in a local community are those who are the keepers and promoters of these old sacred ways of doing and thinking. They nearly always resist change. The more isolated a community is, generally the more homogeneous it is, and generally the greater is the influence of this conservative element. In addition to those who have vested interests as keepers and promoters of the mores, there are likely to be others who have vested interests in leadership, or some other source of power, the change of which they will resist. In most highly stable communities the cards are stacked against the would-be innovator. Penalties are liable to be assessed against an actual innovator.

Not all old beliefs, which tend to preserve the *status quo*, are so deep that they cannot be changed. Some of them in fact are so shallow as to be mere personal opinions or attitudes about relatively trivial issues of life. Opportunity to adopt a better practice which obviously and quickly shows good results and is successful in meeting a felt need, easily triumphs over these mere superficial beliefs. This is because the person, or persons, practicing a given change have a definite personal motive for trying out a new way of doing something. When a goodly number of persons in a community have tried out and demonstrated beneficial changes, a faith in new ways becomes so prevalent that it will group people just as definitely and securely as old value systems in the past have cemented group relations and guaranteed group actions. In the practice of constructive change, new functional leaders arise, and the powers and practices of old vested interest leaders are at least partially subverted.

In the promotion of change it is, however, neither right nor wise to disregard old cherished values, nor to disregard and bypass old organized groups and their leaders. Old forms of organization may

be, and quite often are, good vehicles to carry out new programmes. And old leaders, if they are trusted and revered, can open as well as close gates for new types of community action. If such leaders are willing to become or can be converted into readers of new functions, the multiplication of new things to be done will almost certainly lead or drive them to share the role of leadership with others. New organizations will develop to meet new needs and rising expectations and these new organizations will both need and develop new leaders.

All promoters and directors of change should be intelligently aware of the fact that the step-by-step process of change in a local community cannot be thoroughly planned in advance. The proven benefit of any given change may give rise to a desire for action which few planners, and not even the person or the group who accomplish the first change, can foresee. Even the possibility of introducing the first change is bound to be different in different villages. If planned otherwise, the local people involved decide what they will do first and what they will do thereafter. It appears to me that this is proven in India by the very different performances of different villages in the Community Development-Extension Programme thus far.

It is worth repeating that persons will make changes which they believe will facilitate their work and enhance their lives. But even though they do want such change, they cannot, successfully, be commanded to change. There is evidence from many sources that if induced to make changes which violate their old value systems and disturb their old forms of organization, there will be a definite tendency to revert to the old ways of doing and thinking as soon as pressure upon them is withdrawn.

There are some differences in the problems and processes of indigenous, locally spontaneous, change and promoted or induced change. The major differences are that in promoted change there are personal agents of change, and there is generally financial inducement to or rewards for change. The issues which arise from these differences are, whether or not the agents of change understand the processes of change and the causes for resistances to and the facilities of change, and whether the financial inducements facilitate the normal processes of change or impede them.

Because changed ways must be learned, and because all learning must be grafted on to what is already known, it is obvious that the agent of change who works personally with villagers must know what villagers know and know what they think. If he does not he will not know either the villagers' facilities for change or their resistances to change. It is doubtful that he can know these things, much less appreciate them, if he is not or has not very recently been a villager himself. The villager's knowledge is first-hand. The agent's knowledge had better not be second-hand if he expects to be accepted by the villager. But knowing and appreciating what the villager knows and thinks does not alone qualify him as a successful agent of change. He must also possess some technical knowledge and some social under-

standing which villagers do not have, else he has nothing new to graft on to their body of knowledge and thinking. As villagers learn new ways of doing things their horizons of outlook and expectations expand. Therefore the horizons of village workers must also expand and their knowledge of increasingly better methods be steadily increased.

In handling financial inducements to change an agent of change need be concerned only with whether villagers want to change in the direction in which the inducements lead, and whether they are learning to do each and everything they are induced to undertake or are merely carrying out instructions. The agent of change need not be too concerned about the speed of change if he is sure that villagers are steadily learning, because successful and successive changes are cumulative, so cumulative that change becomes a habit and the faith in change becomes an attitude. If this were not so no amount of prodding and financial inducements would create in village people a new outlook on their own life and work.

Three other types of change, introduced as a result of chain reactions, should be discussed, because Community Development-Extension methods alone are not able to cope with them. One of these types is concretely illustrated by a Mysore village where irrigation was provided to an area which made it possible, and profitable, to shift from general field crops to sugarcane production. The production of sugarcane required the use of certain implements which only a few cultivators could afford to purchase. Other cultivators were therefore either unable to shift to sugarcane or were compelled to pay custom charges to the few for the use of their implements. This charge was no violation of sound economics but it shifted the ownership and control of a major factor in production from the many to the few, and because of this, moved the relative power and status of some persons in the area upward and the relative status of other persons downward. These results could, of course, have been avoided by arranging for cooperative ownership of the necessary implements.

A second type of change resulting from chain reactions is when any one basic institution is changed. Institutions are crystallized forms of social organization, buttressed by the mores. They are not only socially sanctioned but in a great many cases legally sanctioned. Changes in institutions are not easy to plan or promote because a number of unpredictable accompanying changes often result from one simple institutional change. A society's institutions are so interwoven and inter-dependent one with the other that it is impossible to change one institution without disturbing a number of others.

In a country that has determined on change of great magnitude and diversity, this type of chain reaction may be an advantage. But it may also be a disadvantage. It is an advantage only if the interrelations and inter-dependencies of old institutions are so well understood that it can be known in advance which institutions if changed will have the greatest favourable chain reaction on others. This is another way of saying that by carefully selecting, for change, those

institutions which will favourably influençe a number of others, a chain reaction will surely follow. I am sure that in India a basic change in land tenure and ownership, and the firm establishment of local government would have chain reactions of favourable far-reaching importance.

Two practical illustrations can be given. It is, for instance, well known and demonstrated that a desired series of changes in the hierarchy of educational institutions can be and will be effected by starting changes in the content and magnitude of primary school education. It is equally well known that changes initiated at the University level may not in the least induce changes in the primary school level. It has been illustrated in many countries of the world that legal enactments, as necessary as they are, do not in and of themselves change institutionalized class structures. It is known that changes practised in educational and religious institutions and in community relations always in due time develop social sanctions which can then be successfully translated into legal sanctions.

Another type of change is even more difficult to plan but not too difficult to foresee. It is the type of change which results from diffusion of cultural traits. In India, as in other countries, it is not difficult to foresee that as the industrial sector of the economy and the urban sector of population increase relatively more rapidly than do the agricultural sector of the economy and the rural sector of the population, urban traits are bound to spread to rural areas. Modern means of transportation and communication will facilitate this diffusion of urban traits. These traits are likely to be a desire for more and better amenities, a desire for a greater amount of individual freedom from the restraints imposed by family and village groups, and thus a gradual shift from folk practices and values to the secular way of acting and thinking. This type of change is more cultural than purely economic and social, but a rural Community Development programme must be concerned with both the content and direction of this type of change. It must prepare rural youth for successful migration to town and city occupations, and it must prepare village people for something (approaching) urban type standards of living.

XII

RECAPITULATION AND SUGGESTIONS

In this final sizing up of the Community Development-Extension Programme, I am keeping sharply in mind what I think are the two fundamental characteristics and purposes of the programme. First, it is part and parcel of the nation's whole development programme. Its methods are usable and should be used by all Development Departments which attempt to reach and serve village people with technical aid. Second, in addition to providing channels and methods for reaching and serving village people, it has the chief responsibility for developing rural communities as such.

The greatest strength of the programme is that it was originally conceived, and planned, as a local community, people's programme, and has from the beginning been intelligently supported by Indian leaders, from the Prime Minister and Planning Commission down to local communities. Its greatest weakness is that many of these leaders have neither theoretical knowledge of technical Community Development methods, nor do they have practical experience in local community mobilization.

In the light of these two basic facts, one who has had the opportunity to observe and analyze Community Development programmes and processes in a number of so-called "under-developed" countries, and a number of so-called "developed" countries, would I think be driven to two conclusions: first, that the clear objectives and great dedication of leaders on all levels in India guarantee that this greatest Community Development Programme in the history of human society will succeed; second, that it will not move as rapidly toward or as surely gain its objectives unless many persons from Village Level Workers to top national and State leaders learn more about local group formation, the utilization and development of local leaders, and the development of initiative and responsibility on the part of local communities and of local leaders. Unless a knowledge is had that these things must be accomplished, and unless there is widespread unequivocal faith that they can be accomplished, there will be the possibility that local Community Development will become institutionalized at some level other than the structure of hundreds of thousands of self-perpetuating, self-reliant local communities.

When I returned to India for the third time in July 1955, I asked the Administrator of the Community-Projects Administration to name what he considered the most crucial issues or problems at stake in the operation of the programme. He replied without hesitation: "It is whether the outlook of the people has changed or is changing". I asked the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission and the Vice-President of the Indian Union the same question, and received

the same answer. The Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission elaborated his answer by saying: "The life of villagers has been stagnant for many decades". I had and have since heard and read statements that "this stagnation was not only physical and economic but psychological".

The characterisation of village life as stagnant implied that it was at one time like fresh flowing water but had for a long time not been in the moving stream of changing events. That this was at least relatively true I suppose no one can doubt. It is the supreme task of Community Development to change village stagnation into village dynamics. To measure the progress of the programme by the extent to which it has "changed or is changing the outlook of villagers" has been therefore the best sharp focus of my observations and inquiries.

But "outlook" is a vague term and changed or changing outlook is a difficult thing to observe precisely. I have, therefore, attempted to secure answers to the following questions: (1) Are villagers enthusiastic about the new things they are doing? (2) Are there additional improvements which they are anxious to undertake? (3) Are they optimistic about the prospects of undertaking and accomplishing these new things? (4) Have they developed confidence that they are capable of undertaking and accomplishing these, and other, things?

At all the Intra-State and Regional Seminars the discussions have raised another crucial issue, a corollary to the first. The issue is whether Community Development is becoming the people's programme with Government assistance or is a Government programme with the people's assistance. It has also been difficult to make precise observations on this issue, but not so difficult as with the first crucial issue because concerning it I can read Government plans and directives, listen to Government Officials and servants confer and argue with each other, and observe them in programme action.

A third dual issue is almost equally crucial for the future, namely, are all State and National government departments prepared or becoming prepared to serve the growing needs and rising expectations of villagers. Are these agencies being moulded into a well organized team for this gigantic task?

I think the answer to the question of whether the programme at the moment is a Government programme with people's assistance must obviously be that it is. This is understandable because it had to be initiated by Government. There had been a number of demonstrations in India which proved that villagers, when encouraged and helped by education, technical assistance and Community Development methods, would improve all aspects of their life and work. But these demonstrations and programmes had reached only a few of India's more than 500,000 villages. The new Government could no more be content with the slow growth of these isolated projects as a means of developing the great potential human resources of the country than it could have been with building a few small dams and clearing a few thousand acres in an attempt to develop its potential natural and

physical resources. It was, and is believed that its 275 million villagers is the greatest undeveloped natural resource of the nation, and its determination to develop this massive resource by launching and operating a great Community Development Programme was without question far-sighted. Anyone asked to pick weak spots in the programme must appreciate the fact that Centre and State Governments had to play the role of initiator of the programme, and that they must still play heavy roles in the operation of the programme. The issue is not therefore whether Government must continue to make great contributions to the programme, but whether in doing so village people, local leaders, and communities are being steadily developed in terms of initiative and responsibilities.

As to the outlook of villagers, it is my observation that villagers are no longer lethargic; that they are eager for any change that means progress in their production, in their amenities, and in their levels of living. It is my belief that they have changed more rapidly than have the concepts of some national leaders about villagers. I am convinced that changes in villages will accelerate so rapidly that the difficult problem will not be what kind of propaganda will induce them to change, but how can their rising expectations be fulfilled. Because of this conviction I am impelled to believe that relatively more emphasis should be placed on and more effort dedicated to implementing the legitimately rising expectations of the rural masses by sound Community Development-Extension processes and relatively less emphasis on propagandizing villages to change their outlook.

The whole concept and plan of a Community Development-Extension Programme is that local self-help village groups will mobilize their human and natural resources for local improvements of all kinds and all technical agencies of Government will aid them in these undertakings. This requires not only the strengthening of all Development Departments but complete cooperation among them. It is one of the supreme tasks of the Community Development Programme to provide and operate the administrative mechanism by which this can be and is effectively done.

It could be, and will be, a real tragedy if millions of villagers, stimulated by successful local Community Development methods, some day in the near future, find that Extension specialists are not great enough in numbers or competent enough as scientists to meet their growing desires for technical assistance. The extent of this desire, or demand on the part of villagers, for such assistance will be one of the surest measures of their changed outlook. The failure in any measure on the part of Development Departments to meet the demand of this changed outlook will constitute a degree of failure of the whole Community Development Programme. Undue enthusiasm on the part of Community Development leaders about "a Community Development Movement" is likely to divert their attention and best efforts from the vital task of helping to join the growing power of organized local people and their Government's agencies which were established and are maintained for the sole purpose of aiding them.

A good Community Development-Extension Programme is a two-way channel for communicating knowledge between villagers and scientists and technicians. If all needed echelons of personnel are operating in these channels, not only do problems needing solution travel up the channel to scientists and technicians and the solution travel down the channel to villagers, but types of knowledge which villagers possess but many scientists do not possess travel up the channel and become a part of the scientists' understanding. It is an amalgam of the practical folk knowledge of villagers and the technical knowledge of scientists, that will provide the solution to most of the villagers' problems. The technical competence of departments is thus strengthened by an efficiently functioning Community Development-Extension Programme. That this is true is something that technical departments of Government need to believe and know. They need to know that the necessity for strengthening them is not for their own sake but for the purpose of making them more capable of serving the increasing needs and demands of villagers.

Community Development is not merely a programme of rural welfare. It is also an essential programme for developing an increasingly more efficient rural economy. Technical Development Departments have as necessary and as great a role to play in this great task as does the Community Projects Administration.

It should be recognized that the prime function of Community Development-Extension methods is the development of rural people as a national resource. This developed resource will strengthen the rural economy and develop village communities. It will permit persons now living in villages successfully to ascend the ladder of social and technical competence and thus supply rural migrants to man a rapidly developing industrial economy. Because Community Development-Extension methods and education perform these vital social development functions, they are essential components of all other programmes of development.

The final thing that needs to be emphasized about sound Community Development-Extension methods is that they develop local institutions and local leaders, both prime requisites to the development of the democratic society which India is determined to build. Local governments are a necessary part of a political democracy, and local leaders, by the thousands, are essential not only to the effective and efficient operation of local governments but for the management of Cooperatives, the operation of local schools and the promotion of every other type of local undertaking and programme.

No other country in the history of the world has ever accomplished what India is attempting to do; develop a great democratic social order out of a generation of people who have never been permitted to practice democracy and out of a social structure that is the most deeply stratified of any in the world. It is believed that this can be done only by developing the inherent potentialities of the great masses of common people who are near the bottom of this socio-economic structure, most of them living in villages. The programme for doing this is

based on a recognition of the necessity of developing people as a natural and national resource. The method is that of organizing self-help undertakings by village groups, aided by Government. But the need for speed in national development and the need for a great deal of Government assistance sometimes obscures the equally great need for developing self-reliance on the part of local groups. This final great objective of Community Development will not be obscured if all levels of Government personnel working in the Community Development Programme understand and constantly use sound Community Development-Extension methods.

To train tens of thousands of personnel in the understanding and use of these methods is the most important task of the Community Development-Extension Programme. Whether it is done at the earliest possible moment is the most crucial issue in India's whole national development programme. It must start with the training of some 40,000 Village Level Workers who will by 1961 be working in each of the 558,000 rural villages, and with training tens of thousands of school teachers who will also be living and working in villages. They too must also be taught in Training Centres. This means there must be one instructor in each Centre who possesses the technical know-how of group formation and community mobilization, and who can guide trainees in using this know-how in their practical work during the training period. It means that Block Development Officers who will supervise Village Level Workers in the field must understand the science and practice of these methods. There must, therefore, be highly competent teachers of these methods in the Block Development Officers' Training Centres. To select and train these necessary instructors for Training Centres is probably as urgent a necessity at this moment as anything in India's whole national development programme.

For guaranteeing the universally effective use of Community Development-Extension methods there is equal urgency for the understanding of these methods by Development Commissioners, their deputies and assistants. Because the Development Departments must provide all the specialists for Block and District Offices their Directors and staffs must also understand and use these methods. My conversations with, and high regard for Development Commissioners, Deputy Development Commissioners and Assistant Development Commissioners, convinced me that many of them see the necessity for a better understanding of these methods and would cherish the opportunity, by some systematic means, of developing that understanding.

It should be known however, that understanding on the part of top administrators does not in the least lessen the necessity for at least one hundred instructors for Training Centres, hundreds of Block Development Officers and thousands of Village Level Workers who also understand these methods. If both personnel in these lower echelons and State Development Commissioners and Directors of Development Departments are all trained in these methods there is every reason to believe that the major weakness of the Community Development Programme, mentioned in the second paragraph of this section, will be gradually but surely eliminated.

EPILOGUE

I add this Epilogue in order to say three things which it did not seem appropriate to include in the body of a report focused highly on Community Development *processes*. First are some comments on land reform as a condition to Community Development. Second is a short note on cooperatives. Third is a more or less personal comment.

The existence of a land reform climate in India will probably make the major difference between the success of a Community Development programme in India and the success or lack of success of Community Development programmes in at least seven other countries which I have had the opportunity to study in some detail during the last fifteen years. Locally developed, competent, self-reliant local communities constitute the foundation of an economic, social and political democratic order. In such a social order democracy is indivisible. It is useless to attempt to have democratic thinking and practices at the top unless there is also democracy at the bottom, and it is impossible successfully to develop democracy at the bottom if feudalism exists at the top. Those countries which are attempting to promote local Community Development but whose Parliaments are dominated by feudal landlords will not remove, by land reform legislation, one of the most forbidding conditions to successful local Community Development. India has gone a considerable distance in removing this forbidding condition. In places where it has largely been removed, and not only land consolidation but land distribution has been accomplished, I have seen what seems to me to be almost perfect conditions within which local Community Development process can work. In other areas where such conditions have not been created, I cannot help but wonder how far local Community Development will be accomplished.

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I think it is important to recognize that Cooperative Development and Community Development are not identical. There should be many types of local groups and organizations other than Cooperatives. I believe not to understand, and to be convinced of this, confuses both the programme of Community Development and the programme for developing Cooperatives. Cooperatives are, and should be, corporate bodies. Many local voluntary groups must be permitted to work without legal restrictions or direction. Their very genius is their pragmatism.

The understanding of Cooperatives as people's organizations as well as business organizations is imperative if there is to be a great development of sound Cooperatives. It is not a positive contribution to include under the name "Cooperative" every type of activity for which groups of people should voluntarily join hands and efforts. There are hundreds of types of mutual aid organizations which need not and should not be required to meet the legal and financial specifications which must be enforced in the case of Cooperatives. The Cooperative

pattern of organization does not fit large farmer, labour, and welfare societies. It does not even fit all kinds of business undertakings. It does fit so many types of enterprises that will be developing rapidly in India that the leaders of what could be a great Cooperative Movement should make themselves highly intelligent concerning the cause of the successes and failures of the hundreds of thousands of Cooperatives that have been organized in countries which have forced problems similar to those which India is facing.

While there existed in India a cooperative climate, there is not yet anything approaching a Cooperative Movement due to the great lack of understanding, among peasants, of what Cooperatives are. The only concern I have discovered on their part is a desire, and an expectation, that Government Co-operatives will provide them cheap credit. An understanding of the roles which they themselves must play in Cooperatives has not yet developed.

India's agriculture will move rapidly out of a relatively high degree of self-sufficiency into a relatively great production for market sales. With the increase in commercial agriculture will come a greatly increased need for production capital and credit. With technically improving agricultural production will come the need and demand for supplies of chemical fertilizers, better seed, and more farm implements. And with rising levels of living, farm people will be purchasing great quantities of consumer goods. The great farmers' Cooperatives of the countries which have had the most successful experience in Cooperatives have met these needs through cooperative business organizations. The first step in the development of their Cooperatives has most often been taken in the field of credit. The next step has been in the field of marketing farm products. Cooperative purchases have generally been adjuncts to marketing organizations. Far more purely consumer Cooperatives have failed than have succeeded.

The truth of some of the semi-negative statements made above should in no way obscure an understanding, and appreciation, of the sociological and historical fact that successful Cooperatives and strong local communities grow from the same roots. Whatever creates the climate for the growth of one creates the climate for the growth of the other. Each compliments and buttresses the other. If Co-operatives experience the development which some of the most creative minds among India's leaders envision they may come nearer to developing completely Cooperative communities than has ever been known outside the folk communities of historically earlier societies. To the extent that this is done the nearer will be the approach to the growth of a Cooperative commonwealth.

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In my assigned undertaking, to critically evaluate India's Community Development Programme, I have found it necessary to focus my attention sharply on those aspects of the Community Development Programme which permitted me to take a bifocal or stereoptic view.

One focus has been what I was presently seeing and hearing in India, the other was what I had seen of a similar character in a fairly large number of other countries. I could not avoid using this comparative type of analysis, and it seemed to me that I was duty bound to do so.

To present any substantial account of what has been learned and is being learned by other countries, which also have Community Development programmes, has, of course, been impossible in this report. Only here and there have I mentioned the experiences being gained by other countries. But many of my generalizations, which may sound like dogmas, are based on the observations and analysis of quite large and diverse bodies of these experiences. The result of these experiences should become available to a great many leaders of India's programme. This can be only partially accomplished by trips of a relatively few people to study the experiences of other countries. It would probably be better done if some systematic arrangements were made for substantial seminars among those who are promoting, guiding and directing India's Community Development Programme and those with similar responsibilities in a few other countries which also have highly successful and effective Community Development Programmes. In such seminars leaders could learn much from each other. Together they would make great and needed contributions to many other developing countries which need to know what has been, and is being learned in the relatively few great laboratories of the world in the field of Community Development.

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